



*Ravenet sculp*

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An HISTORICAL  
A C C O U N T  
O F T H E  
BRITISH TRADE  
O V E R T H E  
C A S P I A N S E A:  
W I T H A  
JOURNAL of TRAVELS  
F R O M

LONDON through RUSSIA into PERSIA; and back again through  
RUSSIA, GERMANY and HOLLAND.

To which are added,

The revolutions of PERSIA during the present century, with the particular  
history of the great usurper NADIR KOULI.

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In FOUR VOLUMES.

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V O L. I

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By JONAS HANWAY, Merchant.

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L O N D O N.

Sold by Mr. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall; Mr. Nourse, Mr. MILLAR, Mr.  
VAILLANT, and Mr. PATTERSON, in the Strand; Mr. WAUGH, in Lombard-  
Street; and Mr. WILLOCK, in CORNHILL. MDCCLIII.

1753



*Int. Publisher in 1854*

To the WORSHIPFUL  
**ROBERT NETTLETON, Esq;**  
 GOVERNOR,  
 THE  
 CONSULS and court of ASSISTANTS of the RUSSIA  
 COMPANY.

GENTLEMEN,

I Beg the favour of your acceptance of a treatise, which could not, with any degree of propriety, be otherwise addressed. Your company is one of the earliest and most successful trading corporations established in this nation. The famous SEBASTIAN CABOT, the father of our distant

distant navigation, and in some measure the founder of our empire in AMERICA, was the director of your company in the discovery of ARCHANGEL: this put us in possession of our trade to RUSSIA, which has been since carried on with so great reputation. In our own time we find the same spirit of industry and enterprize, of which your late attempt over the CASPIAN sea is an honourable proof. How that enterprize was conducted, and what various incidents attended it, as I had an opportunity of the most authentic information, corroborated by my own experience, I have indulged my inclination, and employed my leisure in giving an account: with what fidelity this is done, you are the proper judges.

As this trade became an object of attention to the legislature upon your recommendation, and as the great hopes conceived of it were not entertained without just grounds; I presume it will not be ungrateful to you, that the public should know upon what principles you acted, and how beneficial your undertaking might have been to the nation. Though we have been foiled in this enterprize, the seas are open to us, and whilst we continue MASTERS of them, they are our safest, and perhaps our only means of conveyance; for I believe, history can hardly furnish an instance in these latter times, of a considerable trade being carried on by traversing the dominions of a foreign prince.

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The relation of prosperous undertakings is the most agreeable task ; but instruction, which is the great end of historical narrations, depends not upon the nature of events : it is not material whether they are favourable or not, but whether they be honestly and fairly stated, the true causes explored, and their influence discovered through the whole chain of effects. Perhaps future generations may have occasion to refer to what has passed in our time, as we now look back to the days of queen ELIZABETH ; and if circumstances should again render this trade practicable and advantageous to the nation, the experience we have lately bought, must necessarily be of great use.

If we call to mind that religious zeal with which you raised a fund for building a public place of worship at St. PETERSBURG ; and your generous resolution not to permit that the BRITISH nation should be the only one in RUSSIA without this mark of honour and distinction ; may it not be expected that the SUPREME BEING, who directs all events by his providence, will enable you either to revive your CASPIAN trade, or to strike out some other branch more beneficial ? The characteristic of a brave and commercial nation is to be ever pursuing something useful to mankind. The world is not in all its known parts so familiar to us, but new channels of trade may be struck out ; nor is it so well civilized, but commerce may  
gently

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gently effect what the sword cannot. You have my sincere wishes that in all things prosperity may attend your endeavours, in your private, as well as corporate capacity. I am,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most humble

London,  
January, 1753.

and most obedient Servant,

Jonas Hanway.

I N T R O-

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# I N T R O D U C T I O N.

**T**HE glory and welfare of the BRITISH monarchy depending on the acquisition and preservation of trade, it becomes the duty of every subject to encourage this general design, and consequently to endeavour to inspire the minds of the people with such sentiments as promote industry, and restrain the growth of a luxurious and irregular manner of living. A peculiar accident of my life engaged me in the pursuit of commercial knowledge in a new path, which was that of trading to PERSIA over the CASPIAN sea; but when I was initiated into this commerce, it seemed already devoted to ruin, nor was it in the power of all our skill and industry to support this tender plant against the violence of those rude storms which incessantly blew upon it; so that it hardly began to blossom before it was blasted.

To transmit some account of this to posterity, may possibly be a means of recovering the trade, if future times should render it practicable and advantageous; or at least of preserving the memory of this enterprize, and gratifying the curiosity of the more intelligent part of this nation, who know the importance of trade: for this commerce was proposed to introduce the useful commodity of raw silk, the basis of one of our most considerable manufactures, on the cheapest terms; and, which is still more, in exchange for our manufactured wool, from which such advantages are derived to GREAT BRITAIN.

Never any new trade was entered upon with more sanguine hopes, or prosecuted with more laborious attention by several of the most eminent merchants of this metropolis; to which we may also add, scarce any commercial scheme has had a more powerful protection from great princes. It must be confessed, that taking all these advantages together, it had once so fair an appearance, that it dazzled the eyes of many, and engaged very clear heads, as well as honest hearts, in its cause.

Various

Various were the objections made against this commerce, with regard to the interest of other mercantile companies: some of the members of those companies foretold its fate in general terms, but, as an instance of the fallacy of human wisdom, the design was at length frustrated by means the least, if at all suspected, for could it be imagined that one, who engaged himself as a BRITISH factor in PERSIA, would engage also as a shipwright to NADIR SHAH?

When men have committed errors in life, it is common to suggest reasons for them, as if they existed in their minds previous to their actions. I believe, Mr. ELTON, who had the chief merit in opening this trade, did not really foresee the tendency of his engagement to NADIR SHAH, to which its destruction was in a great measure owing. If the RUSSIANS could have been supposed idle spectators of a PERSIAN naval power, or of a few trading ships on the CASPIAN sea, Mr ELTON certainly pursued one temporary means of strengthening our interest with NADIR, but such a supposition to him who knew the connection of things on that side, was weak if he did make it; and if he did not, his judgment which, in many instances, was very good, here certainly failed him. But to consider the matter in a mercantile light only, what solid foundation could there be for the security of property under so tyrannical a government, as that of PERSIA; when a factor to merchants, engages as a servant to the crown, and becomes subject every day to be called to an account? This question he hardly ever asked, but suffered himself, the common failing of mankind, to be lulled into an easy security, by contemplating only the bright side of the prospect. Had he acted with more consistency, we certainly might have longer retained the countenance of RUSSIA, and longer supported our trade in the north of PERSIA: for so long as princes ARE on good terms, national compacts are not violated without very strong reasons, though easily cancelled when they ARE NOT.

When I left ENGLAND in 1743, I remember that Mr. RICHARD LOCKWOOD, a TURKEY merchant, discoursed with me to this effect: "Ei-  
 "ther you will teach the RUSSIANS how to trade, and then become an  
 "object of their jealousy, if you have success in this enterprize, or you  
 "will

“ will be plundered in PERSIA ; and in either case your trade cannot last long.” Experience has taught us, that his observation was just, and in some measure prophetic. It is certain, that in the many years experience of the TURKEY company, they never established any factories in the northern provinces of PERSIA. they thought it more judicious to leave that risque, as well as the profits arising from such establishment to the ARMENIANS ; who used to bring the PERSIAN silk to them in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, as the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS now bring great part of it to St PETERSBURG. But the TURKEY company never had the same connexions as the RUSSIA merchants : they had no treaty with the TURKS, to provide for a safe passage to PERSIA, nor any invitations from the mouths of princes to enter upon the trade. Besides, their BY-LAWS restrained their factors from sending goods into PERSIA on their own account.

The parliament, by an act of 1749, now permits us to import raw silk from St PETERSBURG in exchange for our woollen manufactures, and I hope some advantages will accrue from it to this nation. Some time must pass before affairs in PERSIA will be sufficiently restored to allow of any considerable export of raw silk from thence, however this is abundantly made up to us by the supplies we receive from other countries. The ballance of our RUSSIAN trade is usually about a million of rubles\* in favour of that empire. We import annually about two millions of RUSSIAN commodities, and export to the value of one in our own ; the advantages by this act are still increased in favour of RUSSIA, and ought to give us the greater weight with them in the political scale.

I thought it best in the prosecution of this work, after the perusal, and with the consent of those who were most interested, to introduce several of the material papers I received in the course of my correspondence, of which indeed there are none of a private nature. This authentic method creates some repetitions, which however I have as much as possible avoided. Part of these papers, as they relate to the opening of this trade, have been already printed, and published at different times in detached pieces,

\* 220,000*l*

When I was in PERSIA my curiosity led me to collect several anecdotes concerning the famous USHUPH NADIR SHAH : I had the fortune to experience such marks of his clemency, as the most polite CHRISTIAN countries can produce few parallels. This afforded me an opportunity of entering into the character of this extraordinary person ; and as I found no regular and continued historical account of him, I resolved to use my own papers, with the addition of such as I could procure here and in RUSSIA. The proper basis of such a work, seemed to be the revolutions of PERSIA during this century, till the time in which he came to act so dreadful a part on the stage of life, this period takes in near thirty years, and includes the unhappy reign of RUSSIA, and the invasion of the AFGHANS. The account which we have hitherto had of this matter is imperfect. I should not however have launched so deep, but that I found a FRENCH piece lately published, the author<sup>b</sup> of which has taken great pains in collecting the best materials. The original writers of transactions in the EAST have a peculiar propensity to the marvellous : and EUROPEANS also, who have not been on the spot, are apt to give in to the same absurdity. Thus I have endeavoured to rectify, as well from my own personal observation, and anecdotes, as from the general reason of things. It ought however to be remembered, that the genius of the EASTERN nations necessarily gives their history the air of romance. To convey an idea of the PERSIAN government, of which we have many intimations in the sacred writings, I have prefixed to that volume a chronological abridgement, which, in one view, takes in the most material of the numerous revolutions from the foundation of that antient monarchy.

<sup>b</sup> M. CLAIRAC.



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O F T H E

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<sup>a</sup> This is a mistake, it ought to have been 1739.

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&c.	&c.		

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P A R T I.  
 T H E  
 EARLIEST ACCOUNTS  
 O F T H E  
 CASPIAN TRADE,  
 FROM 1553 TILL THE AUTHOR EMBARKS  
 ON THE CASPIAN SEA IN 1743.

C H A P. I.

*Attempts made by the first ENGLISH adventurers towards opening a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, from 1553 to 1581. Letters wrote by EDWARD VI. and queen ELIZABETH on this subject; with some particulars relating to the CASPIAN trade in those days.*

AS I have embarked in a design to write an historical account of the late BRITISH CASPIAN trade, which is interwoven with a multiplicity of interesting and amusing circumstances; it will not, I think, be foreign to my subject to trace matters from the earliest times, and exhibit in a summary way the attempts formerly made towards establishing a commerce of this kind, with the difficulties and interruptions it met with till the year 1738, at which period the ensuing narration properly commences.

The opening a trade over the CASPIAN sea to PERSIA, has ever since the discovery of ARCHANGEL by the ENGLISH, been considered as capable of producing so many advantages to this nation, that attempts were made towards obtaining a share in it, so early as the very establishment of our RUSSIA company. With regard to the several events which happened to our first adventurers, though they are not the immediate subject of this relation, yet as they are visibly connected with, and explanatory of it, I shall give some few particulars with which the reader will have no reason to be displeased. For it cannot be a vulgar entertainment to the benevolent, whose hearts are capable of improvement from the examples of our generous ancestors, to learn WHEN and BY WHOM the discovery was first made that opened a way to the commerce which is the subject of these papers.

This amiable spirit of enterprize which animated our countrymen, first prevailed in 1553, being the seventh and last year of the reign of EDWARD VI. This prince then wrote his letter missive in GREEK, and several other languages, recommending Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY and Mr. RICHARD CHANCELER, with their company, to the protection of the princes and rulers of the earth, but intended more particularly to those of the south east parts of the globe. Modern ages of refinement and superior knowledge of the world, have rendered such applications romantic, if not ridiculous; but this was not the case in those times, nor can we with any consistency withhold our commendation of that pious and simple, as well as military and commercial genius, on which our forefathers erected those monuments of knowledge, riches, and glory, which have been since carried to so prodigious a height. Upon these principles, the following letters must afford some pleasure to the intelligent and curious reader.

“ **E** DWARD the sixt, by the grace of GOD, king of ENGLAND,  
 “ FRANCE, and IRELAND, &c. To all kings, princes, rulers,  
 “ judges, and governours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent  
 “ dignitie on the same, in all the places under the uniuerfal heauen : peace,  
 “ tran-

“ tranquillitie, and honour, be unto you, and your lands and regions, which  
 “ are under your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

“ Forasmuch as the great, and almightie God, hath given unto man-  
 “ kind, above all other living creatures, such a heart, and desire, that e-  
 “ uery man desireth to ioyne friendship with other, to loue, and be loued,  
 “ also to giue and receiue mutual benefites: it is therefore the dutie of all  
 “ men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in  
 “ euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially, to shewe this  
 “ good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come unto  
 “ them from farre countreis. For howe much the longer uoyage they  
 “ have attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby de-  
 “ clare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the  
 “ examples of our fathers and predecessors doe invite us hereunto, foras-  
 “ much as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of  
 “ friendly minde came to them, as well from countreis neare hand, as  
 “ farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be  
 “ right and equitie to shewe such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse  
 “ the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Marchants, who wandering a-  
 “ bout the world, search both the land, and the sea, to carry such good  
 “ and profitable things, as are found in their countreis, to remote regions  
 “ and kingdomes; and againe to bring from the same, such things as they  
 “ find there, commodious for their own countreis: both as well, that the  
 “ people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities  
 “ as their countries bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be par-  
 “ takers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen  
 “ and earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things  
 “ should be founde in one region, to the ende that one shoulde haue  
 “ neede of another; that by this meanes friendship might be establisht  
 “ among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establisht  
 “ ing and furtherance of which uniuersall amitie, certaine men of our  
 “ realme, moued hereunto by the faide desire, have instituted and taken  
 “ upon them a uoyage by sea into farre countreis, to the intent that be-

" tweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, and  
 " carry out marchandizes, desiring us to further their enterprize. Who as-  
 " senting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir  
 " HUGH WILLOUGHBY, knight, and other our trustie and faithfull ser-  
 " vants, which are with him according to their desire, to goe to coun-  
 " treies to them heretofore unknowen, as well to seeke such things as we  
 " lacke, as also to carry unto them from our regions, such things as they  
 " lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and  
 " us, but also an indissoluble and perpetual league of friendship be esta-  
 " blished betweene us both, while they permit us to take off their things,  
 " such whereof they have abundance in their regions, and we againe  
 " grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We there-  
 " fore desire you kings and princes, and al other to whome there is any  
 " power on the earth, to permit unto these our servants, free passage by  
 " your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of  
 " yours unwilling unto you. Consider you that they also are men. If  
 " therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all  
 " humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to aide and helpe them  
 " with such things as they lacke, receiving againe of them such things as  
 " they shall be able to give you in recompence. Shew yourselves so to-  
 " wards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shewe our-  
 " selves towards your servants, if at any time they shall passe by our re-  
 " gions.

" Thus doing, we promise you by the GOD of all things that are con-  
 " tained in heaven, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of  
 " our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your servants,  
 " if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as  
 " friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were borne in our domi-  
 " nions, that we may hereby recompence the favour and benignitie which  
 " you have shewed to our men. Thus after we have desired you kings  
 " and princes, &c. With all humanitie and favour, to entertaine our well-  
 " beloued servants, we will pray our almightie GOD, to grant you long  
 " life,

“ life, and peace, which never shall haue end. Written in LONDON, which  
 “ is the chiefe City of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the  
 “ world 5515, in the month of JIAR<sup>a</sup>, the fourteenth day of the  
 “ month, and seventh yeere of our raigne.”

The fleet sent out upon this discovery, in consequence of the king's letter, consisted of the BONA ESPERANZA, the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, and the BONA CONFIDENTIA, all under the Command of Sir HUGH WILLOUGHBY, as captain-general. It was this gentleman's fate, in company with the crew of the BONA ESPERANZA, to be frozen to death the same year in LAPLAND; but RICHARD CHANCELER, who commanded the EDWARD BONAVENTURE, had the happiness to make a discovery of ARCHANGEL, from whence he was conducted to Mosco, and there received with singular marks of distinction by the great duke IVAN WAS-SILOWITZ, who accepted the offer of commerce, and returned a favourable answer to the king's letter.

The next material incident was in 1555, when a treaty with the great duke, sometimes called emperor of RUSSIA, was made; by which he granted ample privileges to the ENGLISH merchants trading to RUSSIA; and the same year, king PHILIP and queen MARY honoured them with a charter. The next year OSEP NAPEOFF, the RUSSIAN ambassador, came into ENGLAND. In 1557, ANTHONY JENKINSON passed through RUSSIA into BOKHARA, which he was very quickly obliged to leave; the king of SAMARCAND having invaded that country. He found that the PERSIAN trade lay most on the side of SYRIA, and the frontiers of TURKEY. After variety of fortunes and difficulties, which have a very remarkable analogy with those of the time of which I am now writing, he returned home by way of CASAN on the VOLGA, in 1560, having first had the honour of hoisting the red cross of St. GEORGE, or the royal banner of ENGLAND on the CASPIAN sea.

<sup>a</sup> JIAR is the month of february.

In 1561, being encouraged by the merchants adventurers, the same JENKINSON went into PERSIA, having procured a letter from queen ELIZABETH, now in the third year of her reign, to the Shah, TÆHMAS, the king of that country, which, for its singular spirit and simplicity, I also beg leave to insert.

“ ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, queene of ENGLAND, &c. To  
 “ the right mightie, and right uictorious prince, the great SOPHIE,  
 “ emperor of the PERSIANS, MEDES, PARTHIANS, HYRCANES,  
 “ CARMANARIANS, MARGIANS, of the people on this side, and be-  
 “ yond the river of TYGRIS, and of all men and nations between the  
 “ CASPIAN sea and the gulph of PERSIA, greeting, and most happie  
 “ increase in all prosperitie.

“ By the goodnes of the almightie GOD, it is ordayned, that those people,  
 “ which not onely the huge distance of land, and the invincible widenes  
 “ of seas, but also the uery quarters of the heauens doe moste farre sepa-  
 “ rate and sette asunder, may neverthelesse through good commendation  
 “ by writing, both ease, and also communicate between them, not onely  
 “ the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of huma-  
 “ nitie, but also many commodities of mutual intelligence.

“ Therefore, whereas our faithfull, and right well beloved servant AN-  
 “ THONIE JENKINSON, bearer of these our letters, is determined, with  
 “ our license, favour, and grace, to passe out of this our realme, and by  
 “ GODS sufferance to travel even into PERSIA, and other your iurisdic-  
 “ tions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to sette forward, and ad-  
 “ uance, that his right laudable purpose: and the more willingly, for that  
 “ this his enterprise is grounded upon an honest intent, to establish trade  
 “ of merchandize with your subiects, and with other strangers trafficking  
 “ your realmes.

“ Where-

“ Wherefore, we have thought good, both to write to your maiestie,  
 “ and also to desire the same to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to  
 “ our saide servant, ANTHONIE JENKINSON, good pasports, and safe  
 “ conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free, and lawfull  
 “ for him, together with his familiars, servants, cariage, merchandize,  
 “ and goods whatsoever, through your realmes, dominions, jurisdictions,  
 “ and prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to journey, goe, passe,  
 “ repasse, depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to  
 “ returne, whensoever he or they shall thinke good. If these holye duties  
 “ of entertainment, and sweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be wil-  
 “ lingly concluded, sincerely embraced and firmly obserued, betweene us,  
 “ and our realmes, and subiects, then we doe hope, that the almightie  
 “ GOD will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater mo-  
 “ ments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furnitures and ho-  
 “ nors, and also to the great commodities and use of our peoples: so it  
 “ will be knowen, that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue  
 “ so much force to separate us, as the godly disposition of natural hu-  
 “ manitie, and mutuall beneuolence, haue to ioyne us strongly together.  
 “ GOD grant unto your maiestie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and  
 “ perpetuall in heauen. Dated in ENGLAND, in our famous citie of  
 “ LONDON, the 25. day of the month of Aprill, in the yeere of the  
 “ creation of the world 5523, and of our lord JESUS CHRIST, 1561,  
 “ and of our raigne the third.”

Having procured an introduction into PERSIA, JENKINSON returned home without any remarkable success. In 1557 the TURKS conquered the western coasts of the CASPIAN sea, and, in a great measure, prevented the advancement of that commerce which the merchants naturally flattered themselves would happen, in consequence of the favourable decree obtained by JENKINSON from ABDALLAH KHAN, then king of SHIRVAN and HIRCANIA, which last we now call GHILAN; but SHIRVAN was then the residence of our factory. Several ENGLISH subjects were employed in this traffic, of whom one THOMAS ALCOCKE was murdered in PERSIA.

After-

## 10 ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH A TRADE Part I.

In 1626, sir ROBERT SHIRLEY was sent ambassador from the ENGLISH court to ABAS THE GREAT, king of PERSIA. The honourable impressions which the PERSIANS early entertained of this nation, may be deduced from the declaration made to that ambassador by this potent prince, the most renowned of the PERSIAN kings, viz. "That he wish'd  
 " the christian princes would not wage war against each other, for he was  
 " sensible, their common enemy the TURK took great advantages from  
 " thence; tho' by the many defeats he had given the TURKS, he had con-  
 " vinced the world of the superiority of the PERSIAN arms.---That he  
 " would deliver in GAMBROON <sup>c</sup> 10,000 bales of silk, and take the value  
 " in ENGLISH cloth for which if he could not find a market in his own  
 " kingdom, he would dispose of part to his neighbours; for he should  
 " be greatly pleased to deprive the TURK of the yearly customs which  
 " he received from the PERSIAN kiervans <sup>d</sup>, which go to the foreign  
 " markets in ALEPPO; a profit which he knew to be so considerable,  
 " that the janizaries were supported by it, and consequently that it sup-  
 " plied his enemies with force to fight against him.—That he esteemed  
 " the king of GREAT BRITAIN as the head of the worshippers of  
 " JESUS CHRIST, and should be extremely glad of his friendship." It  
 must be remembered, that both the PERSIANS and TURKS did in those  
 days receive such advantages from their commercial intercourse, that by  
 mutual agreement caravans were suffered to pass unmolested, during the  
 long and inveterate wars which subsisted between those two nations.

The FRENCH formed a design of opening a trade from ARCHANGEL over the CASPIAN sea, in the beginning of the last century, as well as in this, of which I shall have occasion to speak; but it does not appear that they carried either into execution.---This indeed is certain, that FREDERICK duke of HOLSTEIN in the year 1633, sent a very pompous and expensive embassy to Shah SHEFIE. After enduring many

<sup>c</sup> Supposed to be meant bales of seven batmans of  $12 \frac{1}{2}$  lb. ENGLISH, not 25 batmans, as now in use.

<sup>d</sup> The most correct writing is kiervan, commonly called caravan; but as this last word is so well adopted with us, I shall prefer it.

hardships and sufferings, the ambassadors were shipwrecked on the western coasts of the CASPIAN sea; and being landed in PERSIA they also met with a variety of no less remarkable disasters. I do not find that this embassy had any effect with regard to the raw silk of the northern provinces of PERSIA, though it may be presumed that the duke had formed a scheme of obtaining an ample supply of this valuable commodity, for his own manufactures in HOLSTEIN.

After the RUSSIAN grand duke ALEXIS MICHAELOWITZ had recovered ASTRACHAN out of the hands of the TARTATS, we find a large quantity of ENGLISH and DUTCH cloths bought by the RUSSIANS and ARMENIANS in ARCHANGEL, for what they called the ASTRACHAN trade.---For when this place fell into their hands, being so advantageously situated, it soon became a considerable mart, the TARTARS from several parts of those vast countries which surround it, resorting thither for EUROPEAN commodities. Their trade was carried over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, in those wretched vessels which the RUSSIANS at that time built on the VOLGA; for PETER THE GREAT was then in the infancy of his power, and the EUROPEAN manner of building ships had not as yet been introduced into RUSSIA.

For a great length of time we do not find that the RUSSIAN navigators went farther than NIEZABAD, from whence they exported the silk of SHIRVAN.---This trade was however frequently interrupted, both on the VOLGA, and on the coast of the CASPIAN, by the KOOBAN and NAGAY TARTARS, as well as by the COSSACKS and RUSSIAN pirates.---SHAMAKEE, the capital of SHIRVAN, on the western coast of the CASPIAN, was the residence of the RUSSIAN merchants, where they drove a considerable trade.---But the LESGEEs having invaded PERSIA, and plundered SHAMAKEE in 1712, YEVRINOFF, a RUSSIAN merchant, lost near 200,000 crowns. This accident so discouraged the RUSSIAN traders, that they almost quitted the field to the ARMENIANS, who were more enterprising in commerce, as well as more resolute in defending their property.

But how great soever the encouragements this nation might have from the PERSIANS, we had not less from RUSSIA, in consequence of the services that nation had received from us, and the natural connection we had with it.---The czar PETER thought none had so good a right to a commerce through his country to PERSIA as the ENGLISH, and had conceived hopes of making it considerable enough to engage our attention.---His solicitude in pursuing this scheme was so great, that he published a decree in 1718, permitting all foreigners, as well as his own subjects, to import raw silk into his dominions from PERSIA, or from any of the countries to the eastward of RUSSIA; but I could never learn that this had any effect, because foreigners thought the conveyance dangerous, if not impracticable, and none but ARMENIANS or RUSSIANS were settled in the northern parts of PERSIA, with a view to carry on this trade.

TÆHMAS, the lawful heir of the PERSIAN diadem, being driven into KHORASAN by the invasion of MAHMUD\* and his AFGHANS, after the death of his father sultan HUSSEIN, who was slain by those rebels; he invited PETER THE GREAT, in 1722, to come to his assistance.---The czar accordingly made prodigious preparations, and marched a great army along the western coast of the CASPIAN, with which he proceeded in person as far as DERBEND.---It is more than probable that so wise a prince would not have undertaken such an expedition, but in pursuit of his favourite plan, of directing the course of the silk trade through his country.---Indeed he had been flattered into a persuasion that the LESGEE TARTARS would submit to him; but on the contrary they harrassed the RUSSIAN army exceedingly, and rendered their march along the coast as dangerous as it was fatiguing.---Beside the western coast of the CASPIAN, the czar took possession of great part of GHILAN; but the peasants of that country neglected their silk, so that very little of this commodity could be procured from them. The warmth and dampness of GHILAN, together with the unwholesome fruits, rendered that province the grave of the RUSSIANS; for which reason the empress ANNE very prudently con-

\* The son of MIR VAEZ, chief of CANDAHAR.

sent to evacuate the country in 1734, without drawing any advantage from it.

To return to PETER THE GREAT. A few months before his death he requested in a particular manner of an ENGLISH merchant<sup>f</sup>, then on his departure for ENGLAND, to treat with the merchants in LONDON, about opening a trade through his country to PERSIA; but this prince did not foresee all the difficulties attending the undertaking, though he was sensible of many of them.---His death however put an end to the enquiry at that time; and the apprehensions the BRITISH merchants then conceived of the dangers which the trade would be exposed to, proved a hindrance to the attempt, till the year 1738, when an unexpected incident happened, which opened a new scene of commercial adventures.

### C H A P. III.

*Mr. ELTON's proposal in 1738, to the ENGLISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, to open a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA.---Mr. ELTON's employment in the RUSSIAN service, in 1735, till his journey into PERSIA in 1739.*

SUCH was the situation of affairs, with regard to the CASPIAN commerce, when Mr. JOHN ELTON, who had been bred to the sea service, made a proposal in 1738, to some of the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, to carry on a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, by way of the CASPIAN sea. As this gentleman makes a considerable figure in these papers, the reader, in all probability, will be curious to have some account of him, and of the motives which induced him to engage in this under-

<sup>f</sup> MR. RICHARD MAINWARING.

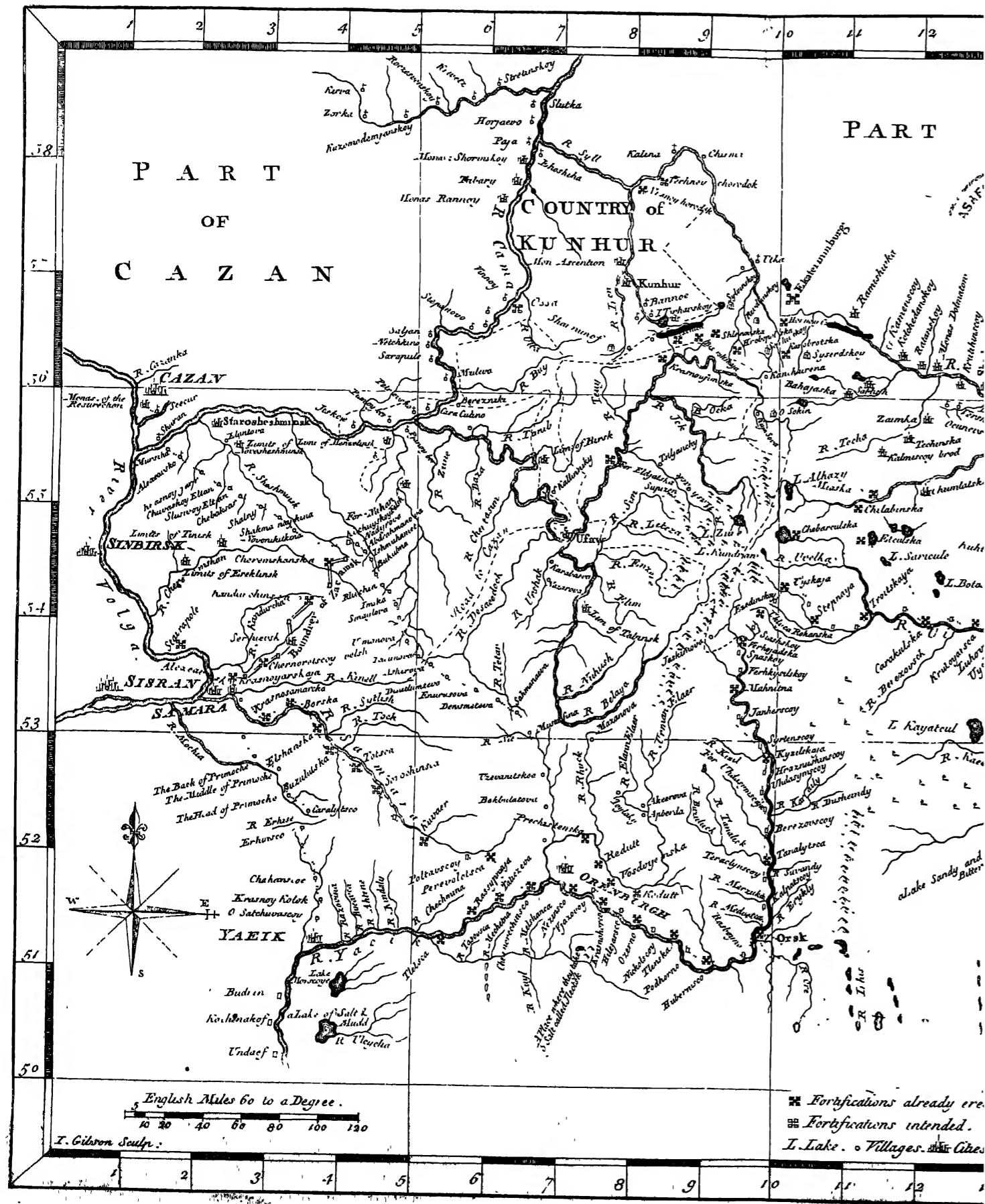
taking.---I shall therefore, to gratify so reasonable a curiosity, insert the following account, extracted from that which he gave of himself to the BRITISH merchants, at the time of his making this proposal.

In the beginning of the year 1735, Mr. ELTON was sent by the court of RUSSIA to assist in the ORENBURG expedition in the rank of a sea captain.---This expedition was commanded by general WASSILLIE NEKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, and was intended to establish an effectual barrier against the TARTARS, and, in some measure, to ascertain and cover the south east frontiers of the empire, by building fortifications, and making small settlements on the rivers SAMARA, and YAEIK; and, at the same time, to open a communication betwixt the city of SAMARA on the river VOLGA, cross the STEP<sup>s</sup> quite to SIBERIA, the distance of about 800 ENGLISH miles. These fortifications are at several distances from 20 to 40 RUSSIAN wersts, according to the maps inserted, with garrisons of 100, 200, or 300 men; but these settlements are not yet all made<sup>b</sup>.

This it was presumed would give a check to the inroads of the neighbouring TARTARS, particularly the KIERGEESE, and, in time, become a means of civilizing them.---It was also imagined, that a safe road through their country to the great and lesser BOKHARA, might be discovered from some of these new settlements. In order to accomplish this end, it was resolved that captain ELTON should be sent to explore and examine the lake ARAL, which lies to the eastward of the CASPIAN; but he could never penetrate thither, being prevented by the intestine broils which then broke out among the BASKIERKIE TARTARS, who though they have been reputed subjects to the empire of RUSSIA above a hundred years, yet, within that period, have frequently rebelled. So that Mr. ELTON being disappointed in this design, employed himself whilst he continued

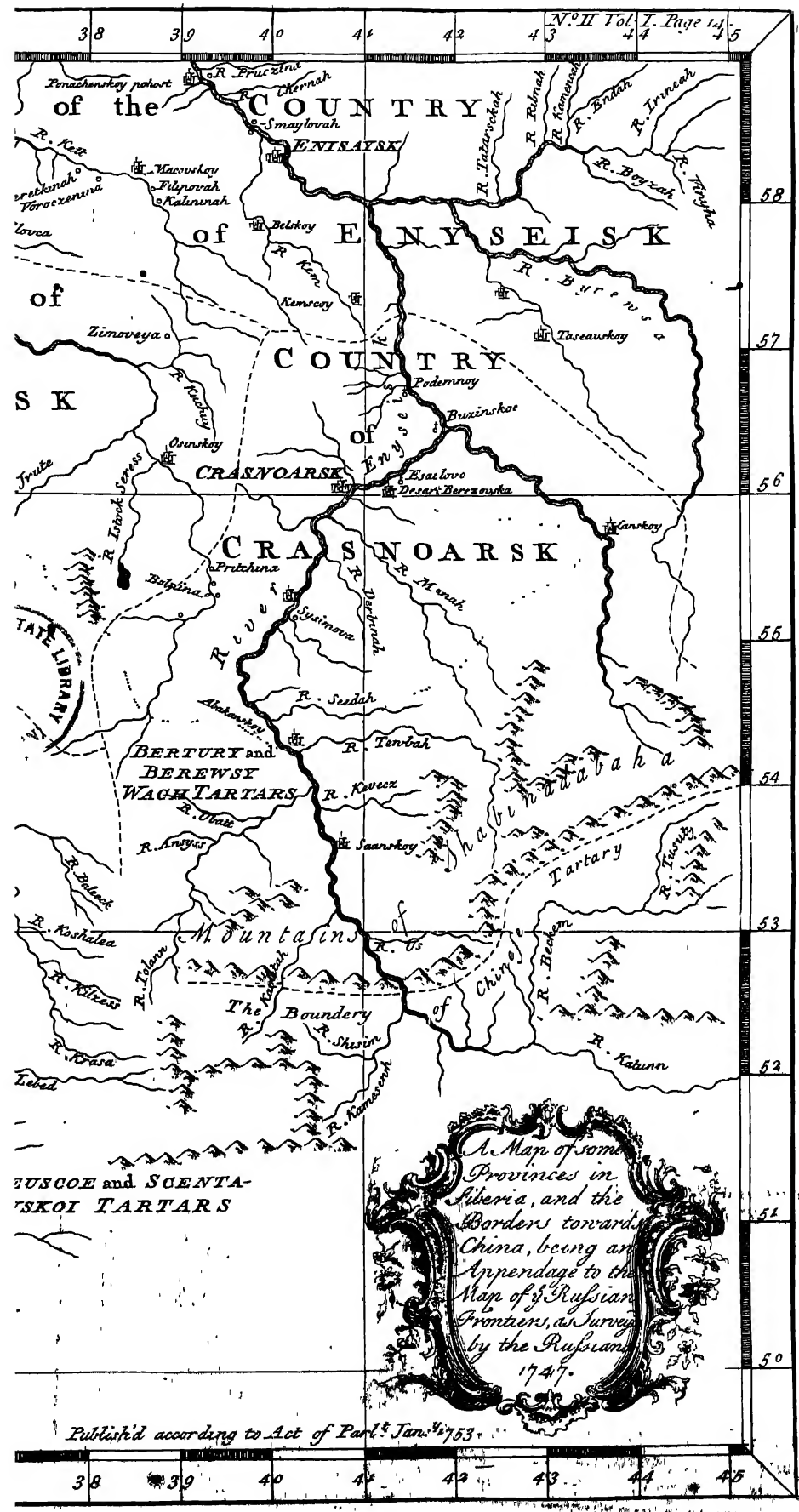
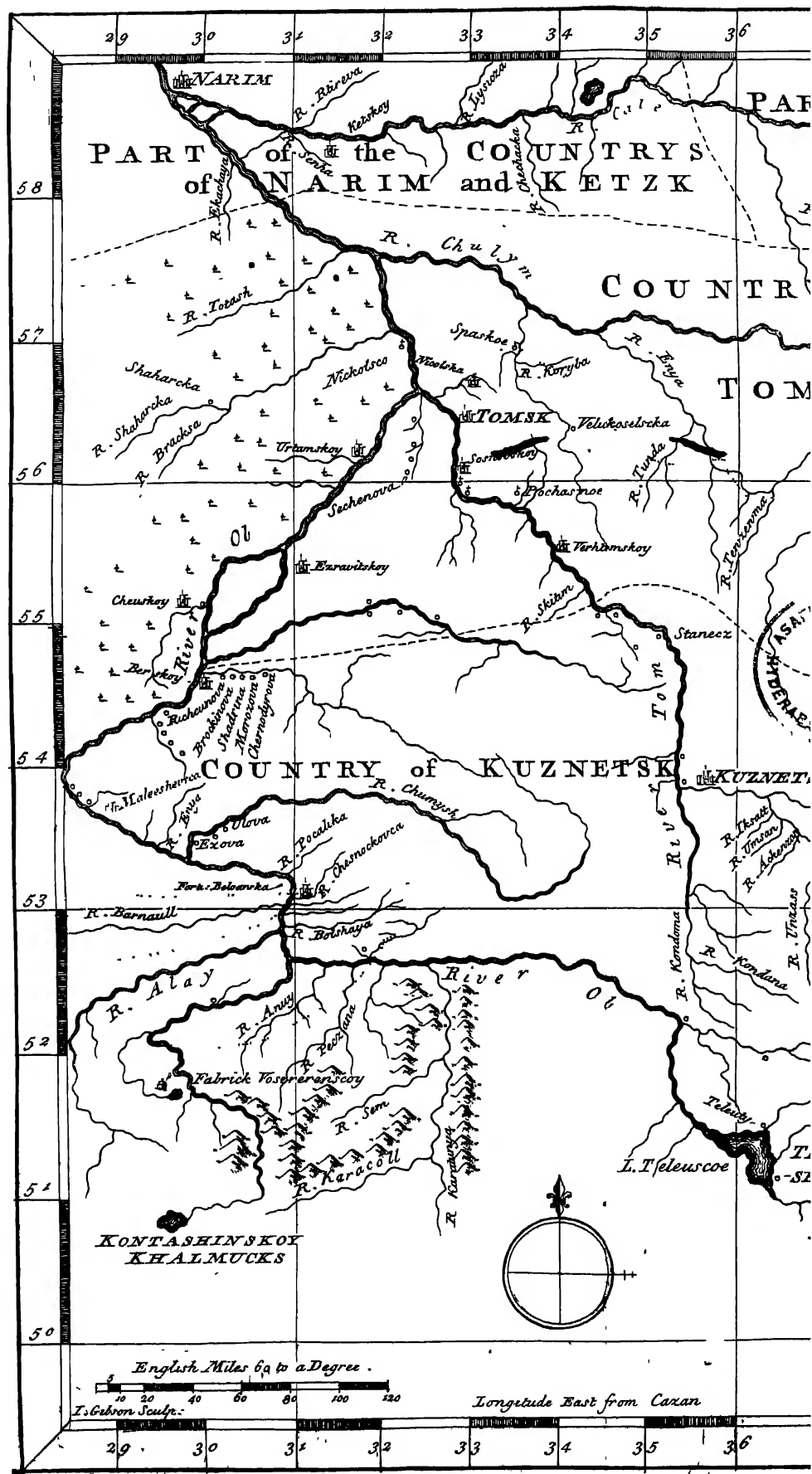
<sup>a</sup> The common name in RUSSIA for a desert country.

<sup>b</sup> The reader will observe what countries border on these settlements, by the two charts, N<sup>o</sup> II. and III. annexed, which are part of a manuscript map, but being of a very large size, I have divided it into three.

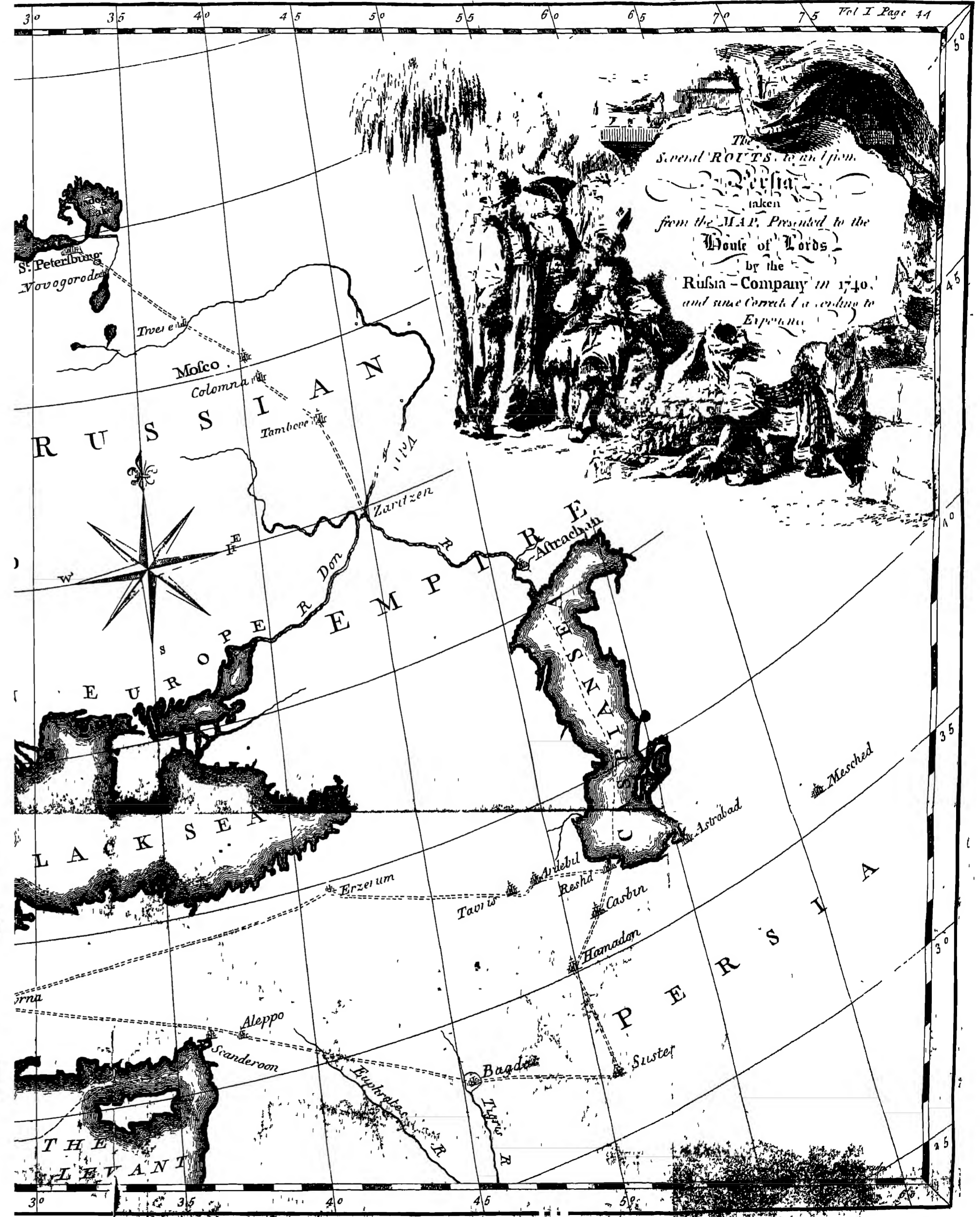
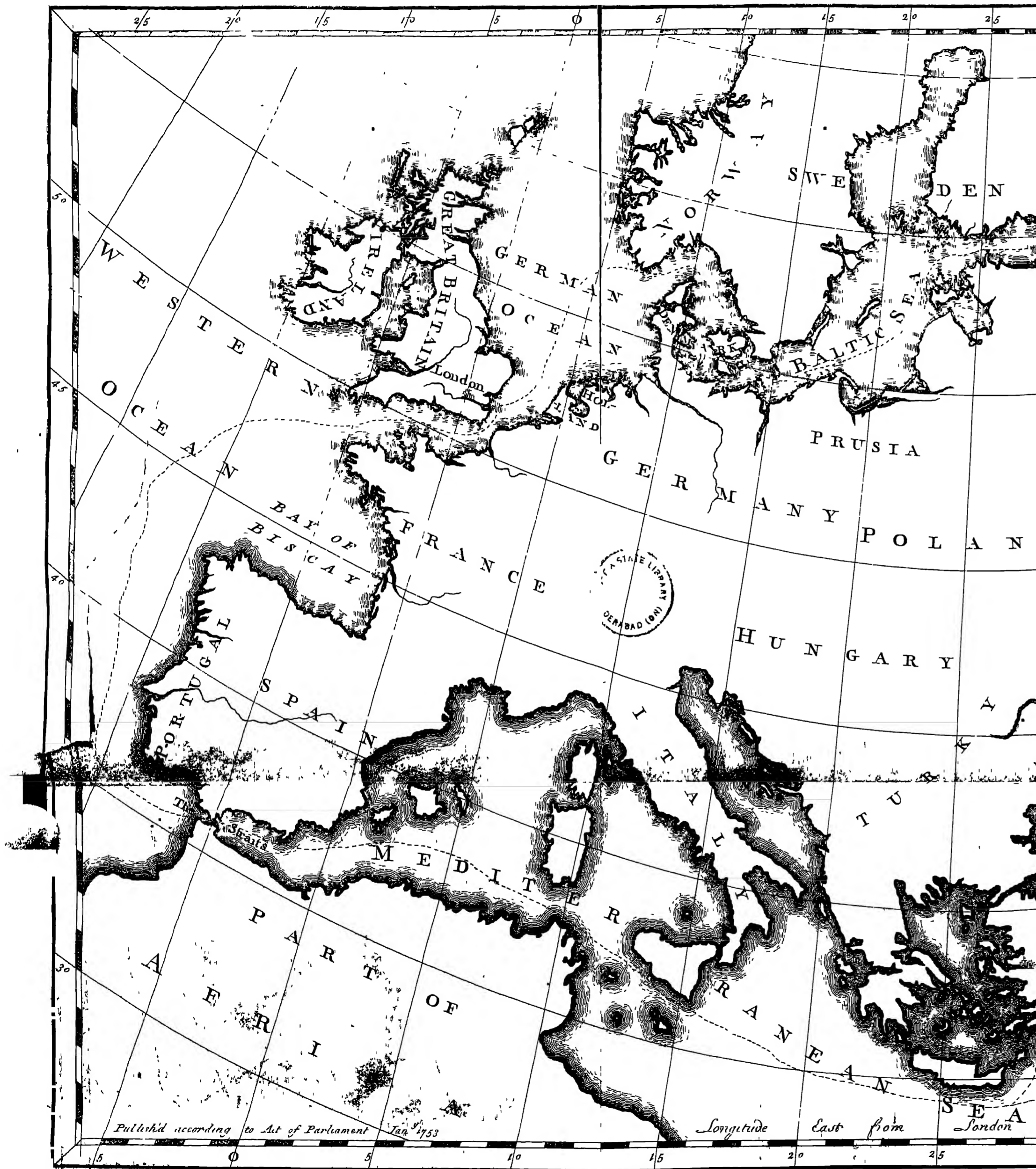


A. Map of the Orenburgh Expedition, with the Russian Frontiers towards Independent Tartary, made in Orenburgh in 1747.

Published according to Act of Parl. Jan. 1753.







in the RUSSIAN service, during the ORENBURG expedition, in laying down some part of the great rivers, BELLA, KAMA, VOLGA, and YAEIK, and several considerable rivers that fall into them; and in drawing a geographical map of the south east frontiers, from the springs of the YAEIK, which rise out of the mountains on the confines of SIBERIA.---He traced that river to the city of YAEIK, through its course of near 600 ENGLISH miles; and from YAEIK, to the city of SAMARA, which is 150 ENGLISH miles, all through a desert.

In this manner he spent four years, which afforded him a constant opportunity of conversing with the different sorts of roving TARTARS, who inhabit those vast and uncultivated countries that lye betwixt BOKHARA and the western boundaries of SIBERIA; andlikewise with the SARTS, who are civilized trading TARTARS, and live in BOKHARA, and in the other cities to the eastward.---Of these there are considerable numbers, who annually cross the STEP, from the cities of KHIEVA and BOKHARA, as well as from TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, KHOJEND, &c. to some of the new RUSSIAN settlements.---There were many YAEIK COSSACKS during this space under his command, who were taken prisoners in the unhappy expedition of prince BECKAWITZ, which I shall have occasion to mention more particularly hereafter, and who had been slaves several years in BOKHARA. From the conversation he had with those people, he conceived a strong notion, that if a safe road could be struck out to those cities, a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them, and great quantities of woollen goods vended.---But at length he found it was absolutely impracticable to cross the STEP from any of those new settlements on the YAEIK to KHIEVA<sup>1</sup>, TORCUSTAND, TASHKUND, &c. on account of the perpetual excursions of the KIERGEESE, KHARAKHULPACKS and KHIVINSKIE TARTARS, who inhabit the STEP, and are continually plundering each other.---He concluded therefore that the only safe and easy passage to BOKHARA, lay down the river VOLGA, and across the CASPIAN to ASTRABAD, or to some other port in the south east bottom of that sea.

<sup>1</sup> Commonly wrote KHIVA. I endeavour to adapt the orthography to the true pronunciation.

Having thus contracted a strong inclination to visit BOKHARA, he returned to PETERSBURG, in January 1738, and quitted her imperial majesty's service with some disgust, not having been promoted as he expected. Immediately upon his taking this step, he began to entertain thoughts of going amongst the black KHALMUCKS, to the eastward of KHIEVA, from whence gold and other precious commodities were brought into EUROPE. ---These people had their ambassadors at that time at the court of St. PETERSBURG, who flattered some foreigners with hopes of meeting with a kind reception in their country. This design, which I suppose was looked upon as a little extravagant, did not take place; however he still persisted in his views of making some new and profitable commercial discovery. After some time he brought his project to bear, for having cultivated a good understanding with the BRITISH factors in St. PETERSBURG, and entered into a close conjunction with Mr. MUNGO GRÆME, a young SCOTSMAN, they obtained credit, and a small cargo of goods proper for KHIEVA and BOKHARA.---With these they set out the beginning of the next year upon this expedition, of which as it is remarkable, abounds with very curious incidents, and contains many useful particulars relating to the subject of these papers, I shall give a succinct narrative of it, faithfully extracted from his own journal,

## C H A P. IV.

*Mr. ELTON's journal from Mosco till his arrival at RESHD.*

“ WE left Mosco the 14th of March 1739, and travelled 240  
 “ wersts \* with sledges to MUROM, a city situated on the north  
 “ bank of the river OCCA.---This river is very considerable, and falls into

\* A werst is  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an ENGLISH mile.

“ the VOLGA at NIEZANOVGORODE. The ice was yet subsisting, but  
 “ full of holes, and rotten ; however as it was then a hard frost, clear and  
 “ moonlight, we ventured to traverse it at midnight, and got safe over.  
 “ From thence we proceeded about 160 wersts to the city ARSAMAS, here  
 “ we found the rivulets much swelled with the melting of the snow, and  
 “ the ice broken up, so that we could not continue our journey till the wa-  
 “ ters abated, and it was convenient to travel with waggons on wheels,  
 “ with which we had a fair opportunity to provide ourselves. The latter  
 “ part of our journey proved as tedious to us, as it was fatiguing to our  
 “ horses, being frequently obliged, by the overflowing of the waters, to  
 “ leave the main road and go far about. Two of our horses died with fa-  
 “ tigue, and the rest were greatly harrassed. We arrived at ARSAMAS the  
 “ 21st, and took up our quarters in an adjacent village.

“ The 4th of April we provided ourselves with waggons and fresh carri-  
 “ ers, and finding the waters almost drained off the land, we departed for  
 “ SARATOFF.—Our course being to the south east, travelling began to be  
 “ pleasant, the summer advanced, and the roads grew every day better on  
 “ the STEP, where we found great plenty of wild ducks, snipes, heath-  
 “ cocks, and other birds, of which we shot more than enough to supply us,  
 “ and lived wholly on game. But there was yet no grass on the STEP, so  
 “ that during our four days travelling over it, we were obliged to carry hay  
 “ and corn for our horses : however we should have found it very agreeable,  
 “ but that one or other of us was constrained to be continually on the watch,  
 “ for fear of a surprize. There are houses called ZAIMORAS, built for the  
 “ accommodation of travellers in winter, about 20 wersts distant. In these  
 “ cottages we were forced to take up our lodgings, water in other places  
 “ being very scarce. These ZAIMORAS are harbours for rogues, as well as  
 “ for honest travellers, which obliged us to be more than usual on our guard;  
 “ neither could we put any confidence in our waggoners. We had only two  
 “ RUSSIAN servants with us, so that we divided ourselves in the night into  
 “ two watches, a method which we afterwards continued all the way down  
 “ the VOLGA.

“ April the 15th. We arrived at the city of SARATOFF, and waited on the  
 “ WEYVODE <sup>1</sup>; we found great difficulty to get quarters, the town having  
 “ been burnt about a year before. As the ARMENIANS, whom we were in  
 “ hopes to have found here, had failed two days before; we were much  
 “ distressed how to get a passage, no vessel being obtainable but large boats  
 “ which were bound down the VOLGA with meal, and might probably  
 “ be a month in their passage to ASTRACHAN. The large lotkas<sup>m</sup> and ca-  
 “ noes, which used to be here in great numbers, were either gone or going  
 “ on the sturgeon fishery, and could not be either hired or purchased on any  
 “ terms. Thus we were under the strongest difficulty imaginable how to  
 “ get to ASTRACHAN time enough to secure our passage over the CAS-  
 “ PIAN.

“ While we were under this dilemma, a vessel arrived with passengers  
 “ from SAMARA, and being informed that there was a lotka belonging  
 “ to her, bad as she was, we determined to buy her. The reader will  
 “ easily comprehend what she was, by the inconsiderable price of three  
 “ rubles and an half, which we gave for her. It required two days to pre-  
 “ pare her for the voyage; in the mean time we engaged five hands to go  
 “ with us to ASTRACHAN. The third day we put our goods and part of  
 “ our baggage and provisions on board; but the far greatest part of the latter  
 “ we were forced to take out again to be sent after us by the first opportu-  
 “ nity, for there was only room for our oars, and two of us to sit in the  
 “ stern. When we all got into the boat, being now ten in number, she swam  
 “ so deep that we were extremely irresolute whether to proceed in her or  
 “ not. But sensible of the singular advantage of joining the ARMENIANS,  
 “ who were gone before us, desirous also to cross the CASPIAN in the same  
 “ vessel with them, and persuaded that if we missed this opportunity, we  
 “ might lose half the summer before another vessel sailed for RESHD, or  
 “ that arriving there late in the season, we might be forced to winter in GHI-  
 “ LAN; we used our utmost expedition in dispatching all things for our de-  
 “ parture, and resolved to proceed with her. On the security of our little

<sup>1</sup> The chief magistrate, who acted as governor.

<sup>m</sup> Boats so called.

“ cargo

“ cargo all our hopes of opening a trade depended; and to arrive at ASTRACHAN with our goods damaged, was the same as not to arrive there at all. These difficulties made us forget the dangers, to which we were exposed from a party of pirates, who we were informed hovered about ZOLOTOVA. We had fire arms more than sufficient, and not hearing that these robbers were as yet provided with them, we made no question of our capacity of defending ourselves in case they should attack us.

“ April the 20th. We set sail, and left SARATOFF, but were detained some hours every day by contrary winds, which blew fresh; this obliged us to go very near the entrance of ZOLOTOVA inlet, which on a sudden brought us in sight of a party of at least 40 persons, who were on the bank with six large boats. We instantly stood to our arms, and demanded who they were, they answered that they belonged to NISNANOVGORODE, and were going to ASTRACHAN. We rowed down about a mile lower, and went ashore, but before we had well landed, the crew of one of the suspected boats put off, and came directly down to us; but as we kept our people under arms, she held on her way down the VOLGA. We met with many alarms of the like kind in our passage, sometimes from the RUSSIANS, sometimes from the KHALMUCKS; and the winds being often contrary, and our boat so very deep laden, we were frequently obliged to make fast to the shore, by which means it was a fortnight before we reached ASTRACHAN, where, as may be very easily conceived, we arrived thoroughly fatigued; since there was no room to lye down in the boat, and to sleep fitting was almost as bad as being without sleep; besides, the danger of being surprized, permitted us to take at the most only broken slumbers.

“ May the 4th, being at ASTRACHAN, we secured our boat, and, after taking our rest, landed our goods and baggage. Here we found the ARMENIANS whom we so much desired to join; they intended to load their goods one of the vessels belonging to the crown, which was to sail for RESHD in three weeks. In this interval we informed ourselves of the nature of

“ the PERSIAN trade, and how it was carried on by the RUSSIANS, as well  
 “ as the ARMENIANS. The latter suspecting our design were very shy in  
 “ giving us information; and as we easily perceived this, we could not rely  
 “ on what they said. They acknowledged however, that the trade from  
 “ ASTRACHAN to PERSIA had hitherto been free and open; that foreign  
 “ merchants importing goods into PERSIA, might carry them to what mar-  
 “ ket they liked best, and dispose of them to whom they pleased; but that  
 “ this year all goods brought to RESHD were obliged to be sold there; and  
 “ that the SHAH’s son would not permit any one to buy them, except his  
 “ own merchants; for although they might keep their goods, if they did  
 “ not like the price which those merchants offered, yet they were not al-  
 “ lowed to carry them to any other market, or permitted to sell them to any  
 “ other person; and that the SHAH’s son had engrossed all the raw silk to  
 “ himself, so that this commodity was to be procured only of his mer-  
 “ chants.

“ Things being thus circumstanced, we determined to proceed directly  
 “ from ASTRACHAN to KHIEVA, and thence to BOKHARA, for which  
 “ places the goods we had with us were very proper. Here was a vessel  
 “ bound for cape KARAGANSKOI, on the east side of the CASPIAN, from  
 “ whence, by traversing the STEP, in about ten days we might arrive at  
 “ KHIEVA, and proceed from thence to BOKHARA. Two RUSSIAN fac-  
 “ tors intended to make this voyage, as well as several KHIVINSKIE TAR-  
 “ TARS, who came in the same vessel from cape KARAGANSKOI the year  
 “ before.---We were desirous to see BOKHARA, and from thence to come  
 “ home through PERSIA, thinking ourselves secure of selling our goods  
 “ there for a considerable profit, and in the right road at the same time of  
 “ gaining a tolerable acquaintance with a country so little known to EU-  
 “ ROPEANS, and of carrying on a trade in which we chiefly placed our  
 “ hopes. But we found the vessel old and crazy, and were told, that in  
 “ passing the STEP to KHIEVA, we should run the greatest hazard of being  
 “ plundered and sold for slaves: for though the KHAN of the TARTARS  
 “ should, on notice of this vessel’s arrival, send a small escort to meet and  
 “ protect

“ protect the caravan, yet this was a slender security, since as the TARTARS  
 “ are crafty and subtle, and wonderfully skilled in stratagems, he might at the  
 “ same time send a much stronger party to plunder it. But what prevailed  
 “ on us most to desist from this expedition, was the certain intelligence we  
 “ had of the PERSIANS invading that country; so that had we arrived safe  
 “ at KHIEVA and BOKHARA, there could be but little hopes of our return-  
 “ ing home by the way of PERSIA; and thus the principal end of our  
 “ journey would have been defeated. We now therefore turned our eyes  
 “ directly towards PERSIA, though even on that side we had but a gloomy  
 “ prospect, and observing that the ARMENIANS shipped off goods for RESHD,  
 “ it encouraged us to run the same risk, as without some risk nothing could  
 “ be done.

“ May the 23d. Being informed by the lieutenant, who was the com-  
 “ mander of the admiralty, that a vessel belonging to the EMPRESS was on de-  
 “ parture for RESHD, we immediately put our goods and baggage aboard her;  
 “ and proceeding down the VOLGA, the next day we arrived at YERKIE.  
 “ A midshipman, who was the commanding officer there, gave us the best  
 “ quarters he could procure. The houses in that place are very mean, ex-  
 “ cept that belonging to the admiralty, which consists of four rooms, where  
 “ four midshipmen were lodged. We arrived at YERKIE five days before  
 “ the ARMENIANS, and were forced to remain there four days longer, be-  
 “ fore they had loaded their goods, and the vessel could be put into a condi-  
 “ tion to sail.

“ June the 3d. Having left YERKIE in fair weather and a calm, we  
 “ drove with the stream over the bar. After a passage of 14 days, we ar-  
 “ rived safe in ENZELLE road, and the next day got over that bar, and en-  
 “ tered the haven.

“ The next day we warped over ENZELLE lake, and came to PERRI-  
 “ BAZAR, a small village on the south bank of the lake. Here the PER-  
 “ SIAN custom-house officers had their station, and all the goods design-  
 “ ed for RESHD are landed.

C H A P.

## C H A P. V.

*Mr. ELTON's journal continued, from his arrival at RESHD till his obtaining a decree of RIZA KOULI MYRZA, the regent of PERSIA, in favour of the BRITISH merchants.*

“ JUNE the 21<sup>st</sup>. We landed our goods and baggage, and after they had  
 “ been visited by the custom-house officers, we proceeded directly with  
 “ them to RESHD, which is eight ENGLISH miles distant. The goods were  
 “ lodged in the custom-house, and remained there about three days, in which  
 “ time they were opened, viewed, valued, and delivered to us; the duty  
 “ was 5 per cent. on their valuation, the amount of which they left at our  
 “ pleasure to discharge when we thought fit. We were obliged to take up  
 “ lodgings in a very indifferent caravanserai; indeed the best of them are very  
 “ mean, the rooms having no light but from the door, so that they appeared  
 “ like the cells of a jail in our own country. But at length we procured a  
 “ house, in a situation so pleasant that it seemed a heaven to us. Our great-  
 “ est concern now was, in what character to act, being such entire strangers,  
 “ and the first ENGLISHMEN that were known to have come hither over  
 “ the CASPIAN on account of trade. As it was most agreeable to our  
 “ inclinations, so it was our primary intention, to live privately, and return  
 “ home unobserved; but this we found to be a scheme absolutely  
 “ impracticable, for the JOULFA ARMENIANS\* at ASTRACHAN, as well as  
 “ those who came over in the same vessel with us, being much alarmed  
 “ at the notions which, through jealousy and fear, they had formed of our  
 “ design, had acquainted every body who we were, particularly the governor  
 “ of the province of GHILAN, whom we were well assured they had endeavoured  
 “ to prejudice against us. In this situation we laboured to procure the very best  
 “ information we could, of the disposition and temper of the PERSIANS, and determined to act in our proper character as merchants.  
 “ This resolution being once formed, to prevent his sending to en-  
 “ quire

\* Inhabitants of JOULFA near ISFAHAN.

“ quire after us, we waited on the MUSTAPHA, who commanded the city in  
 “ his absence. We informed him that we were ENGLISHMEN, come with  
 “ a small cargo of ENGLISH cloth, to see how it would sell in GHILAN, and  
 “ to buy raw filk ; that if, upon the experiment, we should find it answer,  
 “ our design was to engage largely in the trade, and establish a factory in  
 “ GHILAN; that as one of us was a seaman°, as well as merchant, it was  
 “ proper to take a survey of the CASPIAN, that we might know if it was  
 “ navigable, and how far we might venture our goods on it; also to enquire  
 “ if the vessels that now traversed the CASPIAN were to be trusted, or whe-  
 “ ther we should be obliged to have vessels of our own.

“ To which the MUSTAPHA<sup>p</sup> replied, that the SHAH was a great encour-  
 “ rager of trade, without doubt, would favour our design; that we  
 “ might depend on indulgence and protection in all things we could reason-  
 “ ably desire; and that he would immediately make a report of us to the  
 “ VIZIR<sup>q</sup>, who was in the country. The favourable manner in which,  
 “ our project was received, gave us great pleasure; however we thought  
 “ it necessary to pay our respects to the VIZIR himself, as soon as possible.

“ June the 27th, Having provided ourselves with horses, we set out for  
 “ LAHIJAN, a city about 50 wersts to the eastward of RESHD, where the  
 “ VIZIR had a country seat, the heats being much more moderate there than  
 “ at RESHD. It was late in the evening when we arrived at LAHIJAN. Our  
 “ guide and interpreter, who was a PERSIAN that spoke RUSS, carried us di-  
 “ rectly to the CALENTAR<sup>r</sup>, whose eldest son received us very civilly. When  
 “ the CALENTAR came home, he repeated the compliments which his son  
 “ had made us, ordered supper, and appointed us an apartment in his house.  
 “ After supper we retired, and were followed by the CALENTAR's eldest son,  
 “ who brought two of his countrymen with him. Finding that they drank

° Here Mr. ELTON first made a discovery of what he ought in all prudence to have concealed.

<sup>p</sup> Signifies a writer; there are of different orders.

<sup>q</sup> Vizir is the next officer to the governor.

<sup>r</sup> Town-clerk,

“ strong liquors, and had excellent lemon-juice, we treated them with punch,  
 “ which lasted till midnight, at which time our brandy was near expended;  
 “ for we did not expect to find any admirers of strong liquors among the na-  
 “ tives of PERSIA.

“ June the 28th, About sun-rise we waited on the VIZIR, having previously  
 “ sent our present, as no person in that country appears before a great man,  
 “ for the first time, without a gift of some kind or other. He received us  
 “ very kindly, bidding us welcome; and immediately chairs were brought  
 “ us to sit down. Our interpreter informed him, who we were, and on  
 “ what account we came into PERSIA, and begged in our names the favour  
 “ of his protection. He answered, that as we were strangers, so he reck-  
 “ oned us his guests; and therefore had we not come about any particular  
 “ business, it was his duty to do all in his power to serve us: that as to our  
 “ design, he would talk to us about it, when he came to RESHD, and then  
 “ he would forthwith make a report to the SHAH, who he was assured would  
 “ not fail to shew us favour. He entertained us with coffee, tea, and sweet-  
 “ meats, but excused himself that he could not ask us to dine with him that  
 “ day, because he was to go immediately to RESHD; however he desired that  
 “ we would rest ourselves with the CALENTAR, who would be very glad of  
 “ our company. The house of the VIZIR stood at the west end of a large ob-  
 “ long court, of green turf, enclosed with a wall, a quarter of a mile in  
 “ circumference. The east end of the house was a large covered gallery,  
 “ in which is a fountain, and from whence we had the command of a coun-  
 “ try that would have afforded an excellent landskip, the prospect to the  
 “ eastward and the adjacent lands, being interspersed with mountains, woods,  
 “ and vales, so that nothing could be more delightful. At the farther end of  
 “ the gallery sat the VIZIR, on each side of him several PERSIANS of distinction;  
 “ who, smoking their calan, observed a profound silence. The VIZIR had  
 “ the command of a 1000 men: in the absence of the governor he has a  
 “ guard of 100 men, whom he ordered to be drawn up under the gallery,  
 “ in two lines facing each other, intending it as a compliment to us.

“ We

“ We then returned to the CALENTAR’s house, with whom we were  
 “ now become in some measure acquainted; and retired to our apart-  
 “ ments when we pleased. Curiosity to see us encreased the number  
 “ of his guests: Among several persons of note there came three astrolo-  
 “ gers, who were dressed in white, with large turbants of the same co-  
 “ lour. The PERSIANS to this day are great lovers of astrology, and pay  
 “ a profound respect to the professors of it, relying much on their predic-  
 “ tions; we shewed them a particular regard, and the more as we ap-  
 “ prehended they were sent by the VIZIR, on purpose to give their opinion  
 “ of us. Our interpreter, without our knowledge, had informed them  
 “ that JOHN ELTON<sup>f</sup> was a proficient in astronomy, which induced one  
 “ of them to send us, by way of present, a PERSIAN Kalender very fair-  
 “ ly written. The VIZIR having ordered his servants to kill a deer, of  
 “ which there are great plenty in the neighbouring mountains, at noon  
 “ they returned with a fat buck, on part of which we supped that night.

“ Next morning we took leave of the CALENTAR, and returned to  
 “ RESHD, not without being much incommoded by the heat, otherwise  
 “ this would have been a very pleasant journey. On every side we saw  
 “ groves of all kinds of fruit-trees, and gardens abounding with water-  
 “ melons, which were now in season. The number of small trenches,  
 “ that convey running water to the rice fields, yield a very refreshing  
 “ sight in those extreme heats, and frequently allayed our thirst.

“ July the 1st, This afternoon we waited on the VIZIR, and repeated  
 “ to him the view of our coming into PERSIA, upon which we had  
 “ a long discourse with him; the result was, that with regard to the  
 “ goods we now brought with us, the SHAH’s merchant would buy them,  
 “ and give as much as any other person; and if we pleased we might go  
 “ to the SHAH’s son at MESCHED, and negotiate our own affairs; but we  
 “ had already intimated that so long a journey did not suit with our present

<sup>f</sup> It must be observed, that this journal, though more immediately given by J. ELTON, is wrote in the plural as from him, and his companion GRÆME also.

“ situation : he then hinted to us, that if we would draw up a petition,  
 “ explaining what those privileges were which we desired, he would  
 “ directly forward it to the SHAH’s son, who he assured us would not he-  
 “ sitate to grant a decree in our favour. Having so fair an opportuni-  
 “ ty, and finding the PERSIAN trade would answer, we immediately  
 “ embraced the VIZIR’s offer, and returned him our thanks, telling him  
 “ that we would draw up a petition as soon as possible, and lay it before  
 “ him for his approbation.

“ After taking our leave of the VIZIR, we went to the SHAH’s merchant,  
 “ with whom we discoursed for a long time. He enquired particularly a-  
 “ bout the nature of our trade, whether the company of ENGLISH mer-  
 “ chants, who traded to St. PETERSBURG, was the same that traded to IS-  
 “ FAHAN, by way of EAST INDIA. We answered all his questions to  
 “ satisfaction, and informed him of what had passed in our conversation  
 “ with the VIZIR, and our intention of sending a petition to the SHAH’s son  
 “ at MESCHED, to desire his protection, and a free trade into his domini-  
 “ ons. At this he expressed great satisfaction, and observed, that as our  
 “ petition related to trade, it would be referred to his master, the SHAH’s  
 “ principal merchant, who is his treasurer and a great favourite, to whom  
 “ he would write particularly concerning us ; at the same time he assured  
 “ us of his readiness to do all the good offices in his power. We thank-  
 “ ed him, and added, that as we intended to return very soon to ASTRA-  
 “ CHAN, it would be of singular advantage to us to have our business  
 “ speedily dispatched.

“ The next day we drew up a petition in ENGLISH, of which we pro-  
 “ cured a translation into the PERSIAN language, in the best manner we  
 “ were able ; the following contains the several articles.

TO RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA.

The petition of J. ELTON and M. GRÆME, in behalf of the BRITISH company of merchants.

I. “ **T**HAT the BRITISH company may navigate the CASPIAN, and  
“ at all other times, without restraint, sail with merchandize  
“ to and from any of the SHAH’s ports on that sea.

II. “ That they may at all times import merchandize into any part of  
“ the SHAH’s dominions in PERSIA, INDIA, OR BOKHARA, paying such  
“ duty only on importation as the subjects of PERSIA usually pay; and  
“ invest the produce in raw filk, or any other commodity of the SHAH’s  
“ dominions, paying such duties on exportation, as the subjects of PER-  
“ SIA pay.

III. “ That they may have liberty to hire or buy houses or warehouses  
“ in any part of the SHAH’s dominions, and there dispose of their goods  
“ to the best advantage, without being liable to any other duty than what  
“ was first paid on importation.

IV. “ That the company may have all possible protection for their  
“ persons and effects, in every part of the SHAH’s dominions, and leave  
“ to depart thence freely at all times, as their occasions shall require.

V. “ That the company will be ready at all times to contract with  
“ the SHAH’s merchants for any quantity of cloth for cloathing the PER-  
“ SIAN army, or any other use, the SHAH’s merchants agreeing for the  
“ price, and delivering patterns for such cloths. That when the said  
“ cloth shall be imported according to contract, if the SHAH’s merchants  
“ find any of them inferior to the pattern, they may reject them; but for  
“ what they shall receive, they are to pay the company ready money.  
“ That whatever cloths are refused, the company may sell them in any  
“ part of the SHAH’s dominions, on the best terms they can.

“ The company will be at all times ready to contract with the SHAH’s  
 “ merchants for any quantity of any other sort of goods; and they desire  
 “ that no delays may be made on the part of the SHAH’s merchants, in  
 “ receiving goods for which they have contracted.

VI. “ That if they shall contract with private PERSIAN merchants for  
 “ any certain quantity of goods, and a dispute shall arise about the de-  
 “ livery or payment of the same, the governor of that province shall de-  
 “ cide the difference; but if the company shall not chuse to abide by  
 “ the decision of the governor, that then they may have leave directly  
 “ to appeal to the SHAH himself.

VII. “ That if any of their ships shall arrive at any other of the Shah’s  
 “ ports besides RESHD, and they shall not be furnished with PERSIAN  
 “ money enough to discharge the duty of such goods as they import,  
 “ then the receiver of the customs of such port shall take a bill of ex-  
 “ change on the company’s house at RESHD, for the amount of such  
 “ duty.

VIII. “ That when the company shall have paid duty on goods im-  
 “ ported, the said goods shall not be liable to any farther duty on any  
 “ pretence whatsoever, although such goods are carried from the place  
 “ where they are landed, to any other part of the SHAH’s dominions.

IX. “ That goods imported by the company, not for the SHAH’s use,  
 “ but designed to be sold in the inland parts of his dominions, may not  
 “ be liable to be wholly unpacked by the custom-house officers, but only  
 “ so far opened as may satisfy them there is no fraud designed, and  
 “ that the contents of the bales are really such as they are reported to  
 “ be.

X. “ That they may have a broker appointed to attend them, who, if  
 “ required, may be a witness betwixt them and any person they may con-  
 “ tract with, or sell goods to; also for any other such use.

“ We

“ We humbly beg that this our business may be speedily dif-  
 “ patched, that we may return with our report; and if,  
 “ through the short time we have had to draw up this Pe-  
 “ tition, we have forgotten any material articles, we hum-  
 “ bly desire we may obtain them next year.

Signed and sealed } J. ELTON.  
 M. GRÆME.

“ When this petition was translated, we presented it to the VIZIR and  
 “ also to the merchant, who approved of it; we informed them at the  
 “ same time that we had nothing but a gold repeating watch of curious  
 “ workmanship, worthy of the regent’s acceptance. They both thought  
 “ it proper to send the watch as a present with the petition; therefore  
 “ having prepared fair copies in our own and the PERSIAN language, we  
 “ delivered them to the merchant, together with the repeating watch, and  
 “ a plain gold one for the regent’s treasurer. On the 4th of July they  
 “ were all sent forward to MESCHED.

“ The few goods we had brought with us, we sold to the regent’s  
 “ merchant, who bargained with us very fairly, and gave us as good a  
 “ price as we could have obtained of any of the private merchants who  
 “ valued them.

“ The regent, after the example of his father, had entered into very  
 “ oppressive measures, by buying up all EUROPEAN goods, as well as raw  
 “ silk, making himself the only merchant in PERSIA. Complaints being  
 “ made to him of the pernicious consequences of this policy by the CA-  
 “ LENTAR of RESHD, who was deputed by the people of that city, he  
 “ ordered him to be strangled, under pretence that by such representations  
 “ his authority was contemned; however, this project wounded the PER-  
 “ SIAN merchants in a most sensible manner, and could not therefore, in  
 “ the opinion of the wisest heads, be of any long duration.

“ A month

“ A month and seven days being expired since we forwarded our pe-  
 “ tition, and the season drawing near for the departure of the last ships  
 “ from PERSIA to ASTRACHAN, we began to be impatient for an answer.  
 “ We represented to the VIZIR the necessity we were under of returning  
 “ to RUSSIA in the autumn, otherwise we must lose a whole year. The  
 “ VIZIR replied, that one of us at least ought to stay, to do honour to  
 “ the regent’s decree; and dropt several expressions, intimating the dan-  
 “ ger himself should be exposed to, if he permitted us to depart. He de-  
 “ fired that Mr. ELTON should remain, and that he would send Mr.  
 “ GRÆME post by land to the RUSSIAN frontiers, and provide him a safe  
 “ convoy at the SHAH’s expence. Whilst this matter, so interesting to  
 “ us, was in agitation, the 15th of August a courier arrived with a de-  
 “ cree, which we received with much satisfaction. We presented the  
 “ courier with a complete PERSIAN habit, which, according to the cus-  
 “ tom of the country, he wore in honour of us, and, in return, he in-  
 “ sisted on our servants acceptance of three gold ducats. The decree was  
 “ conceived in the following terms.

#### The decree of RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

“ OUR high commandment consists in this, that we have condes-  
 “ cended to grant the petitioners the contents of their humble  
 “ petition; and be it KNOWN to the most excellent Begler Begs, most  
 “ honourable governors and commissioners of our empire of IRAN  
 “ which resembles paradise; the country of BALKH, and its dependencies.

“ Whereas some honourable ENGLISH merchants have arrived here from  
 “ the empire of RUSSIA, we have given them liberty, and hereby allow  
 “ them, to land their goods, with all freedom, in any of our ports of the  
 “ CASPIAN, and from thence to carry them to any market of our em-  
 “ pire, particularly to our provinces of KHORASAN, HERAK, FARS,  
 “ VAUSIER, RODSHAUN, VEZID, KHERMAN, BALKH, ANHIHOBAD,  
 “ STRABRAN, and to the banks of the river AMU, to the confines of

“ BAD-

“ BADDUKHSHAN, CABUL, COSBIN, PSTAGNE, to the empire of INDIA,  
 “ and to the banks of the river ATTOK : And that they be permitted  
 “ and indulged to pursue their journies with their merchandize, without  
 “ the least interruption or disturbance, we have ordered all the subjects  
 “ of our empire to give them all reasonable assistance. When they  
 “ shall have determined at any port or place to open their goods, and ex-  
 “ pose them to sale, they may at all times do so without interruption ;  
 “ and what remains unfold, they are left at the liberty to transport them  
 “ where they please, in vessels or on loads. Upon such vessels or carriages  
 “ on which their goods shall be loaded, the customary duty only shall be  
 “ taken, and by no means any more shall be exacted from them.

“ If these ENGLISH merchants desire to buy up and export any of the  
 “ commodities of the empire, in that they shall meet with no manner of  
 “ hindrance, but shall find the same indulgence as any other merchants  
 “ whatsoever. When their vessels or merchandize shall happen to arrive at  
 “ any port or place where there shall be no ENGLISH consul, or ENGLISH  
 “ house, or though there shall be an ENGLISH house, yet if they have  
 “ no inclination to land their goods, no force shall be used to oblige  
 “ them to land them, nor shall they, under any pretence, be detained,  
 “ after paying the usual duty, and taking a receipt or discharge for the  
 “ same. If it should happen, that they have no money ready to pay the  
 “ duty on goods they shall import into any other port or place besides  
 “ RESHD, then they may give an assignment on their house at RESHD.  
 “ If they shall have occasion to hire, or buy vessels, for carrying off, or  
 “ bringing on shore their goods, the commanders of our ports are here-  
 “ by commanded to give them all reasonable assistance therein. If these  
 “ merchants desire to sell their goods out of their own quarters, houses,  
 “ or warehouses, we give them full power so to do ; and let none have  
 “ the assurance to interrupt them, under pretence that the goods have  
 “ not been regularly viewed by the custom-house officers ; but at the  
 “ same time we expect they will not offer goods to sale, that have not been  
 “ regularly reported at the custom-house, to the injury of our revenues.

“ If

“ If the ENGLISH merchants desire to hire, buy, or build houses at  
“ RESHD, or in any other port or place, in that we order them to have  
“ all reasonable assistance, but the inhabitants of such places shall not be  
“ constrained to part with their houses, against their inclination; yet  
“ they shall treat the ENGLISH with all imaginable civility and respect.

“ If any of the goods they shall import, be thought proper by our com-  
“ missaries for ourself, such may be taken by them for our use, at the  
“ same price as they would be sold to other people, our commissaries pay-  
“ ing ready money, and they shall not be obliged to part with, or de-  
“ liver goods, without ready money; and in such payments let none dare  
“ to give them the least trouble, under pain of our highest displeasure.  
“ Whatsoever goods they shall bring, that shall not be thought proper for  
“ our use, they have liberty to sell them to whom they please, without  
“ hindrance or delay; and these the ENGLISH merchants have leave to ship  
“ off, and carry to what place they shall think most convenient; and if  
“ any differences happen in trade, and they shall come to hearing or trial,  
“ the commissaries of the place are ordered to give immediate sentence  
“ without partiality.

“ In whatsoever port the ENGLISH merchants shall pay their duty,  
“ there they are to have a written discharge, in which shall be set forth,  
“ for what goods they have paid duty, and the amount thereof, that  
“ they may not be liable to pay duty for them again, in any other port  
“ or place. The custom-house officers are not to break open and unpack  
“ their bales, but to take the merchant's word for the contents of them,  
“ that they may sustain no damage. In whatever province the ENGLISH  
“ merchants shall arrive; our most excellent Begler Begs, and other our  
“ honourable commanders, are hereby ordered to shew them all imagin-  
“ able respect, nor to allow or suffer any person whatsoever, to affront or  
“ molest them. And seeing the petitioners are only acquainted with the  
“ EUROPEAN language, and cannot confer with our subjects without an in-  
“ terpreter, it is necessary their brokers should be men acquainted with both  
“ languages.

“ languages. If they desire such interpreters, though they are christians,  
“ they have leave to make use of them without restraint.

“ The petitioners are received under our most gracious protection : the  
“ watch which they sent was received ; and as a mark of our favour, by  
“ the bearer hereof, we present them with 50 rubles : and we hereby  
“ command our most high trusty treasurers and registers of our empire,  
“ to register this our high decree, and put it in execution, under pain of  
“ our highest displeasure.

“ Written at MESCHED in the Shumafnel Saneuf 1152 years<sup>f</sup>,

( ) The place of the seal of

RIZA KOULI MYRZA.

## C H A P. VI.

*Mr. ELTON returns to St. PETERSBURG. His farther proceedings in establishing the CASPIAN trade, till the delivery of his memorial to the honourable Mr. FINCH.*

**I**N the preceding extract from Mr. ELTON's journal; the reader will, without question, observe that the regent's decree was in every respect as full and clear as could possibly be desired; and tho' I believe some latitude was taken in the translation of it, yet it was the regent's meaning to give all possible encouragement to the trade proposed. As to paying ready money for goods taken for the use of the crown, it was never practised in our time; it was called ready money, but it generally proved a laborious task, and required some time to recover it; and as to contract-

<sup>f</sup> August 1739.

contracting for goods on patterns previous to their arrival, it is not practised in PERSIA.

The 50 crowns sent by the regent as a present, has no air of grandeur, but it was discovered after some time, that the execrable wretch who was entrusted with the gold repeating watch, had delivered only a mean one of silver.

Mr. ELTON having received the decree, presented it to the governor; who received it standing, in the most respectful manner, putting it first up to his forehead, with both his hands, according to the manner of the PERSIANS. The whole company rose up at the same time, and when the governor had again taken his seat, he read the decree, and gave it to the VIZIR for his perusal. He desired likewise that he might have a copy thereof, in order to communicate the same to all whom it concerned, and enter it also on the public register. At the same time he insisted that Mr. ELTON should remain in GHILAN, from a presumption that the regent would make very particular enquiries concerning him and his partner. Mr. ELTON represented that his staying there would frustrate the ends of the decree which the regent had given him; because his employment required him to repair forthwith to St. PETERSBURG, in order to settle matters with his constituents. Accordingly leaving Mr. GRÆME, he departed the 22d of August for RUSSIA, and after meeting with tedious delays, and some unkind usage during his quarentine at the mouth of the VOLGA, he arrived in St. PETERSBURG about the end of January 1740.

The success he had in PERSIA procured him a kind reception from the ENGLISH factors, who after consulting their principals in LONDON, desired he would present a memorial to his majesty's minister at the court of RUSSIA, the substance of which will appear from the following extracts,

Extracts of a memorial delivered by J. ELTON, to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, his majesty's minister at St. PETERSBURG. Dated in St. PETERSBURG, July 1740.

“ THE northern provinces of PERSIA produce the greatest quantity, and the best sort of raw silk; and from thence the southern provinces, and the silk manufactories at MESCHED, as well as those in TURKEY, are supplied. The provinces most abounding in silk are GHILAN, the principal city in which is RESHD; SHIRVAN, the capital of which is SHAMAKIE; ARAN<sup>t</sup>, of which the chief city is GANJA: the two former of these provinces are on the south west shores of the CASPIAN sea, and the latter is adjacent.

“ Since NADIR SHAH's accession to the throne of PERSIA, he has made MESCHED, the capital of KHORASAN, his favourite city, and consequently the seat of the PERSIAN empire; so that by the extraordinary privileges with which he has endowed that capital, and by other measures that he hath taken to aggrandize it, he has in some measure drained ISFAHAN of its inhabitants.

“ RIZA KOULI MYRZA, regent of PERSIA, and eldest son to NADIR SHAH, hath established his residence at MESCHED for some years past, during his father's absence in INDIA; in which time he hath taken the city of BALKH, and cleared the frontiers of KHORASAN from the TURKUMANS and OUSBEG TARTARS, who used frequently to infest them. 'Tis presumed likewise that the city of BOKHARA has by this time submitted to the PERSIANS.

“ The seat of the PERSIAN empire being thus removed so near to the CASPIAN, for MESCHED is but an easy journey from the port of ASTRABAD, is, without doubt, a very lucky circumstance for our merchants, who by that means are enabled to supply it with EUROPEAN commodities, particularly with woollen goods, which is an article

<sup>t</sup> ARAN is generally wrote ERIVAN.

“ of very great consequence; as all the PERSIANS, from the highest to  
 “ the lowest, esteem and prefer woollen cloaths to their own cheaper silk-  
 “ en manufactures, inasmuch that they never wear hose of any sort but  
 “ such as are made of woollen cloth.”

“ To supply the capital city of PERSIA, and the adjacent provinces,  
 “ with woollen goods and other EUROPEAN commodities, is not the only  
 “ motive that should determine the BRITISH merchants to establish their  
 “ principal mart at MESCHED. The consideration of the advantageous  
 “ situation of that city, ought to carry their views much farther; for it  
 “ lies most commodiously to answer the demands of the neighbouring  
 “ parts of TARTARY. For whoever considers the great extent of  
 “ both the BOKHARA’s, the kingdoms of TANGUT and THIBET, to-  
 “ gether with the vast tracts of land that border upon them, must at  
 “ the same time see that they contain many great and populous cities;  
 “ even their uncultivated lands are inhabited by millions of people, who  
 “ are fond of EUROPEAN commodities: from whence we must conclude,  
 “ that a very advantageous trade might be carried on with them through  
 “ MESCHED; for caravans come to this place from all the cities in the  
 “ great and little BOKHARA, and from several of the eastern cities of  
 “ PERSIA, also from CABUL, KANDAHAR, and the northern frontiers  
 “ of INDIA. And without all question, when those cities are certain of  
 “ finding at MESCHED plenty of all the sorts of EUROPEAN goods that  
 “ they want, and at the same time an increased demand for their own  
 “ commodities, their caravans must quickly become more rich, and there-  
 “ fore more numerous; by which means alone the BRITISH merchants,  
 “ without carrying their goods further than MESCHED, will be able to  
 “ push their commerce to the utmost limits of the extensive countries  
 “ abovementioned.

“ That the BRITISH merchants may command this BOKHARA trade,  
 “ whenever they please, is obvious to a degree that cannot be said to re-

\* When they wear hose they are made loose in the manner of boots, tho’ they do not use them in riding; but wove socks is the common clothing of their feet.

“ quire

“ quire any proof. They have nothing to do but to send their goods from  
“ St. PETERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water,  
“ to ASTRACHAN, where they may embark them to cross the CAS-  
“ PIAN sea, to the port of ASTRABAD, in the south east bottom of the  
“ CASPIAN, and from thence there is but a little way by land to MES-  
“ CHED: this will be safer, more easy, and almost as expeditious as send-  
“ ing goods from LONDON to St. PETERSBURG, because the CASPIAN  
“ is a much safer navigation than the BALTIC. But the success of all de-  
“ pends intirely on the BRITISH merchants having their own vessels to  
“ navigate the VOLGA and the CASPIAN, for reasons which it would be  
“ improper to mention here.

“ The BRITISH merchants cannot have any formidable rivals to con-  
“ tend with, or to apprehend in this trade; for the eastern provinces of  
“ PERSIA, both the BOKHARA's, and the adjacent countries, can be no  
“ otherwise supplied with EUROPEAN commodities, than through the  
“ RUSSIAN empire, and by the method beforementioned of resorting to  
“ the city of MESCHED.

“ On the strictest enquiry I could make in GHILAN, I could not find  
“ that any ENGLISH woollen goods, either by way of EAST INDIA,  
“ or TURKEY, ever reached to this old mart, and new capital of PER-  
“ SIA. The woollen goods which the ARMENIANS import into GHI-  
“ LAN, either by the way of TURKEY, or the empire of RUSSIA, are all  
“ DUTCH cloths, and but few of these are sent to MESCHED; so that the  
“ trade from LONDON crosses the CASPIAN to this city, might, in the  
“ course of a few years, be made as considerable in regard to the con-  
“ sumption of our woollen manufactures, as any one branch of commerce  
“ we have at present. It is also to be scarcely doubted, that the BRITISH  
“ merchants, if they resolve in earnest to enter on the trade to BOKHARA,  
“ will find their account in it, much more than in that which they now  
“ carry on from LONDON to the empire of RUSSIA. Indeed this may be  
“ easily proved; for at MESCHED and the BOKHARA's their woollen goods  
“ would yield a much better price, and much greater profit would arise  
“ from

“ from their returns. In this trade they would sell all their goods for ready  
“ money; whereas in RUSSIA the BRITISH merchants are obliged to give  
“ long credit, which not only consumes a part of their profit, but subjects  
“ them annually to contract bad debts, for large sums.

“ With regard to the trade to the BOKHARA's, it is a most favourable cir-  
“ cumstance that MESCHED stands so very commodiously with respect to the  
“ provinces of GHILAN and SHIRVAN, from whence the returns for goods  
“ sold at MESCHED may be made in raw silk, to the amount of almost  
“ any sum. Nor can it be doubted, but that when our merchants come  
“ to be acquainted with the BOKHARA's, and the cities to the eastward,  
“ they will find other valuable commodities there, such as gold, precious  
“ stones, bezoar, musk, &c. in which they may invest their returns, in  
“ case the produce of the northern provinces of PERSIA should prove in-  
“ sufficient. Hence it will follow, that after they have established them-  
“ selves at MESCHED, they will obtain the cloathing of the whole PERSI-  
“ AN army, by contracting with the SHAH's principal merchant, and  
“ supply all those vast and populous countries abovementioned with wool-  
“ len goods; and this because no nation, but the people of GREAT BRI-  
“ TAIN, can supply them with woollens in such plenty, nor at so easy a  
“ rate, and at the same time afford to give so good a price for their raw  
“ silk, and other commodities with which that country abounds. All this  
“ the PERSIANS, as well as the ARMENIANS, are apprized of; and 'tis  
“ this which so much engages the attention of the one, and alarms the  
“ fears of the other. This consideration also no doubt prevailed on the  
“ regent so easily to grant us the privileges I obtained, in favour of the  
“ BRITISH merchants last year, which he confirmed by his decree. Soon  
“ after I left GHILAN, the ARMENIAN patriarch strongly solicited the re-  
“ gent in behalf of his people, to reverse that decree; but his solicitation  
“ had a contrary effect, for the regent confirmed it, and sent orders the  
“ second time to the governor of RESHD to shew the strictest regard to it  
“ in all points.

“ The

“ The BRITISH merchants can never be supplanted in this trade, so long as they secure a passage for their goods through the empire of RUSSIA, and a freedom of navigation on the CASPIAN, both which it will be the interest of the sovereign of RUSSIA, to grant to the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN.

“ It may therefore be humbly presumed, that it will be thought reasonable by the legislature of GREAT BRITAIN, to give all necessary powers to us. For it seems impossible to strike out any new branch of trade to any part of the world, capable of vying with this in the advantages which it promises. Both the silk and woollen manufactures would certainly reap great benefit therefrom; and moreover very profitable returns might be made in gold, jewels, cotton, fine wool, and other valuable commodities.

“ Further, the BRITISH EAST INDIA company have for above five years past abandoned ISFAHAN, to which city, in all that space of time, they have not sent one bale of woollen goods, and, as we are informed, they have no thoughts of sending any more for the future. The DUTCH, likewise, who still remain at ISFAHAN, send but a very inconsiderable quantity of goods to that city; for the trade which it formerly enjoyed, is transplanted to, and centers in MESCHED, which is at too great a distance from the PERSIAN gulf, or eastern ocean, for either the BRITISH or DUTCH EAST INDIA company to send goods thither round the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

“ It is also more than probable, that when the BRITISH merchants shall have established themselves in the MESCHED and BOKHARA trade, it will in a few years become a more beneficial article to GREAT BRITAIN than the TURKEY trade ever was. In this, a greater quantity of woollen goods may be vended at a better price, and to countries to which the BRITISH commerce hath never yet reached, nor ever can be extended by any other channel than that now proposed; besides, the very same commodities which the TURKEY company now import  
“ into

“ into GREAT BRITAIN, not to mention any new articles, may be brought  
 “ from MESCHED a great deal cheaper, and with much greater advantage  
 “ to the nation. •

“ In particular, the commodiouness of the roads between MESCHED,  
 “ GHILAN, and the northern provinces of PERSIA, will enable the RUS-  
 “ SIA company to import raw filk much cheaper than the TURKEY mer-  
 “ chants. They can buy it up at the first hand in the very provinces  
 “ where it is produced, whilst the TURKEY merchants must buy the  
 “ same at second hand from the TURKS and ARMENIANS, who bring it to  
 “ ALEPPO, CONSTANTINOPLE, and SMYRNA, where they sell it at a great  
 “ advance. And it must be observed, that the eastern provinces of PER-  
 “ SIA produce but a very inconsiderable quantity of this commodity. Be-  
 “ sides, the SHAH's principal merchant in RESHD refused to supply the  
 “ TURKS and ARMENIANS, who came last year to buy up filk in GHI-  
 “ LAN, with any quantity, unless they paid 20 per cent. above the price he  
 “ then sold it at to those who exported for RUSSIA; and he had positive  
 “ orders to sell no filk for exportation to TURKEY, if he could find any  
 “ other market for it\*.

“ The PERSIANS, who have a settled aversion for the TURKS, are well  
 “ informed of the advantage which the TURKISH empire derives from its  
 “ being the principal market for PERSIAN filk; and have therefore been en-  
 “ deavouring to prevent it for more than an hundred years past. They are  
 “ likewise well apprized, that the only way to succeed in this design, is to  
 “ encourage the BRITISH merchants to come and settle in GHILAN, by  
 “ which means they hope in time to divert the channel of trade for GHI-  
 “ LAN filk; which now runs through the TURKISH dominions, and to  
 “ turn its current through the empire of RUSSIA. Could this be once  
 “ effected, it would not only be of singular advantage both to the empires  
 “ of RUSSIA and PERSIA, with regard to their trade, but it could not fail  
 “ of considerably distressing the TURK, who is the common enemy of

\* Two circumstances which I could never hear confirmed, nor ever thought were true.

“ both these empires. If the TURKS and TURKISH ARMENIANS are denied the exportation of GHILAN filk for TURKEY, or obliged to purchase it on such unequal terms, we must expect, either that the TURKEY company will no longer import any PERSIAN filk at all, or that they will not be able to sell what they import, but at a very extravagant price. This is a circumstance which deserves attention, should the RUSSIA merchants be opposed in the importation of PERSIAN filk into GREAT BRITAIN, either by the TURKEY company or any other.

“ As the BRITISH merchants can at present have no better information, I shall venture to hint briefly at the method they ought to take to establish themselves in this valuable trade to the BOKHARA's, and to the north eastern provinces of PERSIA.

“ It is necessary they should build at CASAN one or two vessels of about 180 tons, or somewhat less, for the navigation of the CASPIAN sea, which vessels may be manned by half BRITISH and half RUSSIAN seamen; and they must also have a few large boats on the VOLGA. These vessels and boats will be no burthen to the BRITISH merchants in carrying on this trade, because they must pay the same freight for the mean RUSSIAN vessels which cross the CASPIAN. And if in the infancy of this commerce, the BRITISH merchants should not send goods enough to freight such vessels, they may find sufficient employment to maintain them, by carrying goods and passengers on the CASPIAN, from one part of PERSIA to another.”

“ The only difficulty seems to be in procuring liberty to build such vessels: but as it will be impossible to carry on a trade to MESCHED, or even to GHILAN without them; it is submitted, if the merchants ought not by all means, and as soon as possible, to apply for such liberty.

“ This first gave offence; the ENGLISH ships should not have been above 60 or 70 tons.

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“ The BRITISH merchants must likewise establish a house at MESCHED,  
“ one branch of which should reside at RESHD, and the chief be invest-  
“ ed with the title of consul to the king, and agent to the company; such  
“ a character given to the chief of their house will have great weight with  
“ the PERSIANS, and firmly establish the affairs of the new undertakers;  
“ and it is the more necessary, as the EAST INDIA company have always  
“ had their agent at ISFAHAN, and RUSSIA at present has her consul at  
“ RESHD.

Signed JOHN ELTON.

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C H A P. VII.

*Remarks on Mr. ELTON's memorial. A short view of the trade between  
PERSIA and TURKEY. The difference between that and the new trade  
proposed by the way of RUSSIA to PERSIA.*

**T**HIS pompous memorial promised a great deal too much, considering how little experience the author had of the subject he undertook to treat of.

Nothing is more natural than for men to be charmed with the creatures of their own brain, and to receive that as solid reasoning which flatters some favourite passion. Mr. ELTON having thus found his way to GHILAN, and laid the foundation of a commercial intercourse with that province, worked himself into the persuasion that he had discovered a quite new trade, which the ARMENIANS either knew nothing of, or were incapable of conducting. This however was far from being the case; for they frequented MESCHED in the reign of SHAH ABAS, and supplied it with EUROPEAN commodities from ISFAHAN, TAVRIS, and also from  
the

the coast of the CASPIAN. There is a yet a large CARAVANSERAI built by SHAH ABAS for the use of the ARMENIANS, who are settled here in great numbers; and had there been any prospect of such advantages, as Mr. ELTON imagined, they would not have wanted abilities, or means to make use of them.

I shall have occasion to explain this matter more fully hereafter, and will only observe at present, that if Mr. ELTON had been acquainted with the extreme distress of PERSIA, in consequence of NADIR's usurpation, and with the unhappy condition of the countries bordering on the east and south east of PERSIA, there could not have been the least room for such sanguine expectations.

It is not improbable that the regent of PERSIA consented the more readily to Mr. ELTON's proposals of bringing merchandize from ENGLAND to GHILAN, because the SHAH's merchant resided at that time in this province, and MESCHED stood very conveniently between the TURKS, with whom the PERSIANS were at war, and that part of INDIA which was lately conquered by the PERSIANS; but this was not the only reason, for he knew very well, that by increasing the places of importation, and the number of importers, he would be enabled to buy the manufactures of EUROPE so much the cheaper. As to the trade between the northern provinces of PERSIA and TURKEY, Mr. ELTON certainly was too sanguine. The expence of carriage through RUSSIA was then computed to be 17 per cent. cheaper than by the rout of TURKEY; but according to the best calculations I could ever obtain, I found the difference to be no more than 4 per cent. and if the freights from SMYRNA and ALEPPO were moderate, it would come still lower. As there are no caravans of merchandize sent from PERSIA to TURKEY, for account of our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, this computation of the carriage can be taken only from the ARMENIANS, and the charge thereof must vary according to the circumstances of those countries as to war or peace.

werfts: and from ASTRACHAN to St. PETERSBURG they reckon 2200 werfts, as the annexed map more particularly describes. The reader will please to observe, that this map was not shown to the house of lords; as erroneously said, but to such peers only who entered deepest into the subject. It now stands corrected according to the best intelligence I could procure in PERSIA.

It must be observed, that the ARMENIANS are subject to many arbitrary impositions, when they travel through the GRAND SEIGNIOR'S dominions, but they enjoy the indulgence of trading from one great city to another, much more than is practicable in RUSSIA; they are also subject to inconveniencies in RUSSIA, when the governor of ASTRACHAN happens to be rapacious, or the RUSSIAN consul in GHILAN insolent and oppressive; the entire direction of the RUSSIAN navigation on the CASPIAN being in the hands of the latter.

There are many of the ARMENIANS who acknowledge subjection to RUSSIA, and are therefore entitled to so much the greater countenance in that country; but what must give the RUSSIANS a preference in the esteem of the PERSIANS, is the mutual interest they both have in depriving the TURK of the advantages arising from the PERSIAN commerce, which has been so considerable as to enable him to keep a great number of forces on foot, and has often turned the scale in his favour.

From GHILAN to ASTRACHAN, allowing for quarantine and other contingencies, may be reckoned 30 days, from thence to ZARITZEN 10, from thence to MOSCO 35, from thence to St. PETERSBURG 20, in all 95, which is many days longer than the rout to TURKEY, upon a moderate computation. Moreover, according to the usual course of the seasons, the only proper times to set out for ASTRACHAN, are the months of May, June, and July, for the summer caravans, and January for the winter.

This must necessarily create delays, and often prevent the timely exportation from St. PETERSBURG; nor can it be imagined but that the shipping of the silk on the CASPIAN, and in the summer time again on the VOLGA, and again on the BALTIC, must be attended with considerable expences and inconveniencies. We have found the charge run to 34 per cent. on the invoices from LONDON, delivered to the factory at RESID, and on raw silk delivered in LONDON, duties and all charges paid, about 36 per cent. on the invoice.

Mr. ELTON's proposals certainly merited great regard, and the more as they were calculated to obtain a consumption for our cloth, in those provinces of PERSIA, which for some time had hardly seen any of it, except a few thin GLOUCESTER cloths, imported by our factors in SMYRNA and ALEPPO, and thence brought into PERSIA by the ARMENIANS: formerly indeed our coarse cloths were sent to ARCHANGEL, as I have already mentioned, from whence the ARMENIANS and RUSSIANS carried them to ASTRACHAN, and part of them into PERSIA.

Mr. ELTON was also entitled to a kind reception, not only from the BRITISH merchants, but from the RUSSIAN court, as his project seemed equally beneficial to both nations. PETER THE GREAT was wont to give considerable premiums to the authors of any commercial schemes; but that custom had been long neglected. However, as the BRITISH nation was in esteem at the court of ST. PETERSBURG, we found no difficulty in obtaining leave to build a ship at CASAN for the CASPIAN navigation,

Favourable as our design appeared to the RUSSIAN interest, yet, whatever was the cause, it was not without the utmost importunity that we obtained permission to build a second ship for the same purpose.

Mr. ELTON set out upon an acquaintance with the old accounts of this trade, and with the treaty of commerce concluded in December 1734, between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, whereby provision was made for carrying on a trade from GREAT BRITAIN, through the  
RUSSIAN

RUSSIAN dominions, into PERSIA; and he had now occasion to make a fresh appeal to it, by producing the eighth article of that treaty, which is as follows.

“ It is agreed, that the subjects of GREAT BRITAIN may bring into  
 “ RUSSIA all sorts of goods and merchandize, and carry them through  
 “ the dominions of RUSSIA, by the shortest and most convenient way to  
 “ PERSIA, paying 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, for the duty and  
 “ transit of said goods, and no more under any pretence whatsoever;  
 “ and precise orders shall be given for settling the rate, so that the ENG-  
 “ LISH merchants may at all times have carriage or transports ready, which  
 “ shall be furnished them at a reasonable price; likewise that they may  
 “ bring all sorts of goods and merchandize from PERSIA, and carry  
 “ them through RUSSIA with the like freedom and conveniency, paying  
 “ only 3 per cent. ad valorem, in rix dollars, after the manner which is  
 “ usual in the custom-house of RUSSIA; and, in order to prevent all  
 “ frauds on the part of the RUSSIAN officers, the BRITISH merchants shall  
 “ declare the goods which they design to pass to or, from PERSIA, at the  
 “ first place they shall arrive in RUSSIA, and they shall be received and  
 “ admitted by their bill of loading, policy, or register, and according to  
 “ their declared value, on which a duty of 3 per cent. shall be paid, with-  
 “ out opening or unpacking the goods, farther than is absolutely necessa-  
 “ ry to satisfy the RUSSIAN officers, that the goods specified by the bill,  
 “ policy, register, and no other are contained in the packs or bales, in  
 “ which the goods are made up: but if the officer has reason to suspect  
 “ the goods are not declared to their full value, within 20 per cent; in  
 “ that case he may take the goods and dispose of them, paying the mer-  
 “ chants the value declared, with 20 per cent. over, without any deduc-  
 “ tion. When the officer has made his visit, which shall be made  
 “ without any vexation or injury to the goods or package, he shall seal  
 “ with leads the packs or bales in which the goods are; he shall also  
 “ number and mark them, and give the merchants a certificate of their  
 “ having paid the duty; and by that certificate, the seal being marked  
 “ and

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“ and numbered, they shall pass through RUSSIA, to, and from PERSIA,  
 “ without any let or molestation: but in case the merchants do not pass  
 “ all or any of the bales through RUSSIA, according to the declaration,  
 “ or break the seals, and take out any of the goods in RUSSIA, if there  
 “ be any reason to suspect that the same has been done contrary to the  
 “ plain meaning and intent of this article, he shall be fined, and pay  
 “ the full declared value of such bale or pack that is wanting, of which  
 “ the seal has been broken.”

It may appear a little strange that such careful provisions should have been made for a trade through RUSSIA into PERSIA, at the same time that a commerce of this kind seems to be prohibited by the act of navigation; which says, “ That no goods or commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country shall be brought to the BRITISH dominions, from any place except from those ports where the said goods or commodities can only, are, or usually have been, first shipped for transportation, and from no other places or countries, under the penalty and forfeiture of all such goods, &c.” from whence it was concluded, that without an act of parliament, PERSIAN silk could not be introduced into ENGLAND, except from GAMBROON, by the EAST INDIA company, or from the ports in the LEVANT by the TURKEY merchants.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Further steps taken by Mr. ELTON. Representation made to his majesty by the commissioners of trade, in consequence of the papers transmitted by the honourable Mr. FINCH to his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE. Opposition made by the EAST INDIA and TURKEY companies. Remarks on the declining state of the latter; and several public remonstrances on this subject.*

NOTwithstanding the difficulties mentioned, Mr. ELTON was not prevented from delivering to the honourable Mr. E. FINCH, besides the memorial already recited, two papers containing an account of the privileges, regulations, and indulgencies necessary to be obtained from the RUSSIAN court, for the management of this new trade. Mr. FINCH accordingly transmitted these papers to the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty's secretary of state, who by the order of the king laid them before the commissioners of trade; and they in November of the same year made the following representation.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

May it please your majesty,

" IN obedience to your majesty's commands signified to us by his grace  
 " the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of your majesty's principal secreta-  
 " ries of state, in his letter dated the 16th of September last, we have  
 " taken into our consideration two papers put into the hands of Mr.  
 " FINCH, your majesty's minister at St. PETERSBURG, by captain ELTON,

" Containing a proposal for opening a trade by the BRITISH merchants  
 " in RUSSIA, to those parts of PERSIA which are adjacent to the south-  
 " ern coasts of the CASPIAN sea. And do find,

“ That captain ELTON’s papers do contain a proposal to the RUSSIA  
 “ company, for supplying MESCHED, the present capital of PERSIA, and  
 “ the countries adjacent, with all sorts of woollen goods to a far greater  
 “ degree, and at much easier rates than they are now vended there: and  
 “ for investing our returns to GREAT BRITAIN in the best raw silks, and  
 “ other commodities produced in those countries, near 50 per cent. cheaper  
 “ than at present by the way of TURKEY.

“ The method captain ELTON proposes for carrying on this trade, is  
 “ for the merchants to send their goods from GREAT BRITAIN to St. PE-  
 “ TERSBURG, and from thence, partly by land, and partly by water  
 “ down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN; there to be shipped and carried cross  
 “ the CASPIAN sea to ASTRABAD, on the south east coast of the said sea,  
 “ from whence by land carriage to MESCHED is not quite 14 days jour-  
 “ ney for a caravan<sup>y</sup>.

“ Captain ELTON, in setting forth the many advantages this trade  
 “ must necessarily be attended with, observes amongst other things, that  
 “ after the RUSSIA merchants shall have established themselves at MES-  
 “ CHED, they will not only have it in their power to supply many ex-  
 “ tensive and populous countries with woollen goods, but may also in  
 “ time come to cloath the whole PERSIAN army.

“ Having on this occasion been attended by Sir JOHN THOMPSON, go-  
 “ vernor of the RUSSIA company, and also by several of the principal  
 “ merchants concerned in that trade; we communicated to them captain  
 “ ELTON’s project, and have received their opinion in writing on the sub-  
 “ ject matter thereof, wherein they inform us,

“ That the great and many advantages which will accrue to this kingdom,  
 “ by so cheap and easy a conveyance of the manufactures thereof in this

<sup>y</sup> It is at least 26 days journey.

“ channel of trade, appeared to them so manifest, that they humbly conceived this proposal deserved the utmost attention and encouragement.

“ That a trade through RUSSIA to PERSIA is certainly practicable, forasmuch as the same is at present carried on by the ARMENIANS between HOLLAND and PERSIA, through the RUSSIAN dominions.

“ That this branch of trade, which will consist principally in the exportation of woollen goods and importation of raw silk, must be of singular benefit to this kingdom; as it will be a means of sending the manufactures of our own produce in the easiest manner to market, and of bringing home the first materials of another great and beneficial manufactory, vastly cheaper than they can be had in any other manner.

“ That by authentic accounts transmitted to them, the charge of bringing raw silk from PERSIA to St. PETERSBURG, by means of the water carriage, will be very inconsiderable in proportion to the land carriage from GHILAN in PERSIA, to ALEPPO or SMYRNA, the only ports in TURKEY for exportation to ENGLAND.

“ That the Sophy of PERSIA, from an inclination to distress the TURKS, his natural enemies, and to favour the RUSSIANS, may possibly prohibit all trade with TURKEY, provided he can have a sufficient demand for his silk through RUSSIA; in which case, unless this channel should be opened to us, we should be entirely deprived of that commodity.

“ That since the commencement of the war with SPAIN, PERSIAN silk is advanced very much, and, if the war continues, may still be higher, and must always on any rupture with FRANCE or SPAIN, be exposed to the like difficulty, which can only be remedied by opening another channel, and having the choice of two ways to supply the kingdom with that commodity.

“ That the FRENCH do now chiefly supply TURKEY with woollen  
 “ goods, and gain upon us in that trade every day, and probably do and  
 “ may, through them, supply great part of PERSIA; whereas by this  
 “ easy conveyance, we shall be enabled to undersell them, and carry our  
 “ woollen manufactures into all parts of PERSIA cheaper than they can.

“ They conclude with observing, that the only objection that occurred  
 “ to them against opening this trade, was the present act of navigation,  
 “ by which they apprehend themselves debarred that liberty; and as  
 “ the restrictions of that act make it necessary for them to apply to par-  
 “ liament, they humbly hoped, that considering how beneficial this trade  
 “ will be to the kingdom, and that they can have no private views, nor  
 “ any exclusive trade from the rest of his majesty’s subjects (any person  
 “ having a right to be made free of their company for five pounds)  
 “ they should meet with encouragement, in their intended application  
 “ to parliament, for an exemption from that clause in the aforesaid act of  
 “ navigation, from whence the present impediment arises.

“ Whereupon we humbly beg leave to represent to your majesty, that  
 “ it appears to us, as well from captain ELTON’s papers, as from the re-  
 “ presentation of the RUSSIA company, and our discourse with them  
 “ thereupon; that this scheme, for opening a new branch of trade to  
 “ PERSIA through RUSSIA, may be very beneficial to this kingdom, and  
 “ may deserve your majesty’s royal protection; but as no steps can be  
 “ made therein till the company shall have applied to parliament, for an  
 “ exemption from the above-mentioned clause in the act of navigation,  
 “ (whereby no goods or commodities that are of foreign growth, pro-  
 “ duction or manufacture, can be brought from any place or country,  
 “ but only from those of the said growth, production, or manufactory,  
 “ or from those ports where the said goods and commodities can only, or  
 “ are, or usually have been first shipped for transportation) we shall at  
 “ present only observe to your majesty, that when the said application  
 “ shall

“ shall be made, the advantages or inconveniencies that may attend this  
“ channel of commerce, will be thoroughly weighed and discussed.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Sign'd M. BLADEN.  
R. PLUMER.  
JA. BRUDENELL.  
AR. CROFT.

Whitehall, Nov. 11.  
1740.

Captain ELTON's proposal having thus met so favourable a reception in ENGLAND, as well as in RUSSIA; some members of the EAST INDIA company began to be alarmed, as if the scheme was practicable, in the extent which Mr. ELTON apprehended, and consequently might prove an invasion of their charter.

The trade to EAST INDIA thro' RUSSIA and PERSIA, was however considered by the majority of that company as a chimerical project; and as their trade to the gulph of PERSIA, was known to be not only remote from the CASPIAN, but differing also in kind, (for THEY could not export the raw silk of GHILAN, nor the RUSSIA COMPANY the wool of CARMENIA) their fears did not run very high.—But the TURKEY company, was in general extremely alarmed, and pleaded against this proposed trade very strenuously, objecting that it would be a violation not only of their charter, but of the act of navigation, so long esteemed the bulwark of the BRITISH commerce. And tho' they never had any factory established in the northern provinces of PERSIA, yet the trade carried on from thence to ALEPPO and SMYRNA by the ARMENIANS, had in a great measure centered in their company, by the purchases which their agents were wont to make of those ARMENIANS. They attempted to corroborate their arguments, by urging an exclusive right, as established by the sanction of that custom. The RUSSIA company, on the other hand, insisted that when the act of navigation was made, it was not imagined that a safe passage could be obtained through the RUSSIAN domi-

dominions into PERSIA; which was now found not only practicable, but for the interest of the nation to be attempted. That their charter is more antient and extensive than either that of the EAST INDIA or TURKEY companies; and they should think it strange if they were excluded from a right of trading to the dominions of PERSIA, which are actually mentioned in the body of their charter. The contest however ran very high, and whilst the TURKEY merchants employed all their interests to prevent a bill passing in favour of the proposed trade, the RUSSIA merchants attacked the exclusive privileges of the TURKEY company; urging that they were detrimental to the national interest, and that our trade to TURKEY had decayed very much for these seven years past, chiefly owing to those privileges, together with the arbitrary and improper manner in which the trade itself was conducted. They also urged the declarations of several of their own members, who in the year 1718, had complained to the house of commons, of the partial and unnational manner in which the trade was managed. These complaints had been made by Sir PETER DELME, JOHN LOCK, RALPH RADCLIFFE, JAMES LOCK, EDWARD RADCLIFFE, JOHN HANGER, esquires, and Sir JOSEPH EYLES, who then delivered a memorial to the effect as follows.

“ THE complainants admit that the company have long carried on  
 “ their trade to TURKEY, sometimes by private, sometimes by general ships; they desire only to remind the honourable committee, that  
 “ by the whole tenor of the old records produced by the company, it  
 “ appears that they themselves have frequently thought the delay of shipping to be of such dangerous consequence, that if their ships departed  
 “ not annually, liberty was given to each and every member, to export  
 “ his own goods, in such manner and by such means as he should think  
 “ proper. The complainants think it unnecessary to enter into a consideration of the state of trade, fifty or a hundred years ago, or whether  
 “ the DUTCH or the FRENCH had any trade in those days; they desire to  
 “ come to the present times, and to consider what methods the company  
 “ have pursued since the conclusion of the last wars, and the alterations  
 “ they

“ they have lately made ; and it appears that they have carried on, what  
 “ is usually called an open trade ; that is, by such ships as the respective  
 “ members did appoint to export their cloth, and the cloth of such  
 “ other members as might please to load upon them, to depart at such  
 “ seasons of the year, as were found to be most convenient, which was  
 “ usually in autumn, or by christmas.

“ Accordingly the last cloth ships did depart about that season of the  
 “ year in 1717, and many members of the company expecting the trade  
 “ would continue to be carried on in the same manner, proceeded in  
 “ buying and finishing cloth, as usual, for the year 1718.

“ But on the 26th of March 1718, they resolved, that if any mem-  
 “ ber should send cloth to TURKEY in any other manner, they would  
 “ levy 20 per cent. on such member’s cloth in TURKEY ; adding, that  
 “ they would consider of general ships on the 23d of October following,  
 “ and not before : and in their own preamble they give this remarkable  
 “ reason for their alteration, that it was in order to raise the value of  
 “ ENGLISH manufactures abroad, and silk at home, hereby evidently de-  
 “ monstrating their private advantage, that of the nation consisting more  
 “ in a large consumption, than in a large price ; as the one may beat our  
 “ neighbours out of the trade, whilst the other must necessarily give  
 “ them a share in it. Now although many members thought this a great  
 “ hardship, yet did they acquiesce, in full expectation, that at the time  
 “ prescribed, they should be permitted to export their cloth in the com-  
 “ pany’s own way.

“ But on the 6th of November, they resolved to adjourn the further  
 “ consideration of shipping for two months longer, and this made that  
 “ evident which was before suspected, that they really intended no ship-  
 “ ping at all : whereupon a representation of this grievance was made to  
 “ the ministry, who became so sensible of this extraordinary way of  
 “ proceeding, so highly interfering with the common good, that Mr. se-  
 “ cretary

“cretary CRAGGS sent for the company, and desired them to re-consider  
 “this matter ; which the company did in a general court, assembled on  
 “the 4th of December, when they resolved, that they would chuse ships  
 “for the immediate exportation of cloth, on the 8th of January follow-  
 “ing, and appointed a committee to attend Mr. secretary with this re-  
 “solution. But when the 8th of January came, they, by a majority of  
 “one vote only, instead of chusing ships, ordered only a survey of ships,  
 “and a report to be made. On the 22d of January, they resolved, that  
 “they would, in proper time, chuse ships, but not to depart before the  
 “1st of July next: now, the 1st of July was generally understood to  
 “mean winter, and in that case it would have completed two years  
 “prohibition of trade.

“This irregular and uncertain proceeding of the company, was the  
 “cause that your complainants thought the interposition of this honour-  
 “able house of commons most proper to their relief, in the exportation  
 “of that great quantity of cloth, which has been so long locked up,  
 “to their own and the nation’s prejudice.

“And they humbly offer the following reasons for it, that the com-  
 “pany’s charter does not warrant them in such a prohibition or re-  
 “straint of trade; nor will WESTMINSTER-HALL warrant their levying  
 “twenty in the hundred upon their members estates ; besides, such re-  
 “straint cannot be for the common good of the woollen manufactures of  
 “this kingdom, but evidently the contrary, as it necessarily encourages  
 “the FRENCH and DUTCH trade to TURKEY.

“Nevertheless it is granted, that there was cloth remaining unfold, and  
 “particularly at ALEPPO ; but most of it would have been long since  
 “disposed of, were it not for an understanding between the managers  
 “here and in TURKEY, in order to raise the price of cloth abroad, and  
 “that of silk at home.

“This restraint may be also a great cause why so much wool is sent  
 “to the FRENCH, they having a vent to TURKEY, whilst we have none;  
 “and

“ and to prevent the exportation of woollen goods to TURKEY at this  
 “ critical juncture, when no more can be sent either to OLD or NEW  
 “ SPAIN, is of the greatest moment; so that the complainants hope, that  
 “ such members of the company as have a right to trade, will meet no  
 “ obstruction.

“ As to the objection, that the trade has been over-driven; will not that  
 “ in the nature of the thing, reduce the exportation, as far as may be  
 “ needful, without a forcible restraint? It is strange that a majority of the  
 “ company, some of whom are not at all concerned in the trade, and  
 “ others but little, should have more regard to the welfare of their largest  
 “ trading members, than they have for themselves and the nation.

“ Our legislature never thought that over-driving the trade to PORTU-  
 “ GAL, SPAIN, or ITALY, was a sufficient reason to trust those traders  
 “ with a power of restraining it at their pleasure.

“ It must be allowed, that the present situation of affairs has made a  
 “ great alteration in almost every thing; low interest raises land, enlarges  
 “ trade, reduces profit; and therefore these members, contrary to the rea-  
 “ son of things, desire that cloth may be bought the cheaper at home,  
 “ and sell the dearer abroad; likewise that silk may be bought the cheaper  
 “ abroad, and sell the dearer at home.

“ In the mean while, the FRENCH and DUTCH are encouraged to sup-  
 “ ply their woollen trade abroad, and their silk manufactures at home;  
 “ and our own manufacturers, both in wool and silk, are in a great mea-  
 “ sure deprived of their employments: the TURKS also at this very time  
 “ carry on a cloth manufacture of their own.

“ There can be no doubt, but the speedy exportation of what is now  
 “ provided, will be a greater encouragement towards the buying more  
 “ cloth, than the detaining it can be, in as much as most of this must  
 “ be sold, before another supply can follow it: but were it otherwise, it

“ is presumed, that those who have industriously laid out their estates in  
 “ cloth ought not to be hindered, for the sake of those who have neg-  
 “ lected and it is probable, that the complainants are as likely to buy  
 “ more cloth, as any other member whatever.

“ Although the company have frequently practised this way of trading  
 “ by general ships, yet it has often occasioned misunderstandings be-  
 “ tween the members themselves, and also between the members and  
 “ manufacturers. Two instances may be offered; one upon the like occa-  
 “ sion with this. Some members made application to king CHARLES in  
 “ council; the company was heard, and pretended many difficulties: the  
 “ king himself asked the question, whether there might be any members,  
 “ who notwithstanding what was alledged, were willing to trade; and it  
 “ was answered there might. Then, said the king, they shall trade, and  
 “ ordered the trade to be opened.

“ The other was a complaint of the manufacturers to the house of  
 “ commons, upon a delay of shipping, when an annual export for TUR-  
 “ KEY, in summer for ALEPPO, and in winter for SMYRNA and CONSTAN-  
 “ TINOPLE, would have probably been enacted by law, had not the  
 “ company, by large promises of doing the thing, prevented it.

“ Now, whether this pretended power to stop trade be warrant-  
 “ able, or whether it has been exercised for the common good,  
 “ is humbly submitted to this honourable committee?”

It is natural to imagine that such bold and explicit declarations as these, would be productive of enquiries into the state of the TURKEY company; and it was accordingly debated very warmly in both houses of parliament, whether it would not be for the interest of the nation to leave the commerce to TURKEY free and open, as the PORTUGAL and SPANISH trades are.

A fair conclusion could not indeed be drawn from this memorial, for tho’ several errors were committed twenty three years before, it did not follow that

that the TURKEY company still pursued false maxims, destructive of that trade by which so many had been enriched. Upon the whole, this company had not so great reason to be alarmed at the proposal of the CASPIAN trade; for the quantity of raw silk produced in the PERSIAN dominions, and brought into ENGLAND by way of RUSSIA, was, and probably would have been, very short of that which is imported from TURKEY: and though some of our woollens had found their way into the western parts of PERSIA from TURKEY, the quantity of late years had been but small; the goods used there being mostly FRENCH and DUTCH, as already mentioned.

The TURKEY company however was really in unhappy circumstances, as appears from the following memorial, given in a little before this time, complaining of the progress of the FRENCH in the LEVANT trade.

“ To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty’s principal secretary  
“ of state.

“ THE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading  
“ to the LEVANT seas, having lately received from his majesty’s  
“ ambassador at CONSTANTINOPLE, an account of the great increase the  
“ FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encouragement given to it by the public, with observations on the prejudices  
“ derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of losing that  
“ branch of our trade; they think it their duty humbly to lay the same  
“ before your grace, and to annex an account of the FRENCH importations of cloth into TURKEY; together with a state of the BRITISH woollen manufactures in those parts for some years past.

“ All the FRENCH woollen manufactures for the LEVANT, are made in  
“ LANGUEDOC, and managed by the province under the approbation of  
“ the court. Besides particular manufactories, there are about twelve  
“ which have been built by the province. In each of these there are conveniences for perfecting, even to the embalming, 1000 cloths of about

“ 40 yards each, yearly; and the province lets these manufactories rent  
 “ free, upon an engagement annually to make 300 only of these cloths,  
 “ and allows five livres for every such cloth.

“ We have the same source of materials, if the public would give any  
 “ help and encouragement to preserve so valuable a trade.” And the am-  
 bassador adds; “ As the trade to the LEVANT has been a deposit of your  
 “ country in your hands, you will not suffer it to perish there (tho’ with-  
 “ out any mismanagement of yours) without calling for help.” He  
 says further, “ That in the station he is in, he thought himself obliged  
 “ to give us this information, as well in regard to the trade, as to his  
 “ majesty and the public.

“ The FRENCH import at CONSTANTINOPLE and ALEPPO about 12000  
 “ cloths yearly; and at each of these places there have been for several  
 “ years past, and still remain large quantities of ENGLISH cloth unfold,  
 “ occasioned by so large an importation of FRENCH cloth; particularly  
 “ at ALEPPO in February last (after the company’s ship came away from  
 “ SCANDEROON) about 5000 ENGLISH cloths remained there unfold, at  
 “ CONSTANTINOPLE above 4000 cloths, and at SMYRNA above 3000  
 “ cloths.

June 28, 1739.

WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

This was soon followed and confirmed by a second memorial, as fol-  
 lows:

“ To his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, his majesty’s principal secre-  
 “ tary of state.

“ **T**HE governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading  
 “ to the LEVANT seas, had the honour to lay before your grace,  
 “ on the 28th June 1739, a representation of the great increase the  
 “ FRENCH have made in their cloth trade to TURKEY, and the encou-  
 “ ragement

“ ragement given to it by the public, with observations on the prejudice derived to our ENGLISH cloth, and the danger there is of losing that branch of trade.

“ The said company having lately received advice from Sir EVERARD FAWKENER, his majesty’s ambassador, of advantages since obtained by the FRENCH from the PORT, do think it their duty to lay the same before your grace.

I. “ A reduction of their custom upon cloth, from 40 to 30 dollars the bale of 20 pieces.

II. “ A total abolition of the duty called messataria, which is two dollars and one sixth of a dollar per bale of cloth, and one and half per cent. ad valorem, upon all goods sold by weight.

“ Those advantages obtained by the FRENCH in TURKEY, with the great encouragement given them by their government, encrease our apprehensions of not being able to cope with them in the cloth trade, without assistance from this government.

London, Sept. 9.  
1740.

WILLIAM DUNSTER, deputy-governor.

These papers being laid before the commissioners of trade, they made the following report.

“ To their excellencies the lords justices.

“ May it please your excellencies,

“ **I**N obedience to your excellencies command, signified to us by Mr. STONE, in his letter of the 15th of September, we have taken into consideration the two memorials from the governor and company of merchants of ENGLAND trading to the LEVANT seas, delivered to his grace the duke of NEWCASTLE, one of his majesty’s principal secretaries

“cretaries of state, setting forth the disadvantages the ENGLISH trade lies  
 “under, by the encrease of the FRENCH cloth trade to TURKEY; and  
 “also the treaty of commerce lately concluded between the OTTOMAN  
 “PORT and FRANCE, whereupon we humbly take leave to represent to  
 “your excellencies,

“That we have been attended on this occasion by MR. DUNSTER, de-  
 “puty-governor of the said company, and by some of the principal mer-  
 “chants trading to the LEVANT seas, and having had some discourse with  
 “them, they informed us,

“That their trade lay under many considerable disadvantages, which  
 “had occasioned a very great decrease thereof for some years past. By  
 “the many encouragements given in FRANCE to the woollen manufac-  
 “tures, the FRENCH were enabled to undersell them, at the several ports  
 “in the LEVANT; by means of which great quantities of BRITISH cloth  
 “exported to TURKEY remained unfold in their houses in that country.

“That the company is at a very high expence, to the amount of  
 “8000 l. a year, in maintaining the ambassador his majesty sends to the  
 “PORT, as well as consuls, and other public officers in that country,  
 “which in the present low condition of their trade, they are not able to  
 “support.

“That they apprehend if a bounty was to be allowed on the exporta-  
 “tion of cloth to the LEVANT (which might include SPAIN, when a  
 “trade shall be again open with that crown, and also ITALY) and the  
 “duty on TURKEY silk and grograms imported into GREAT BRITAIN,  
 “lowered; it might be a means, not only of relieving them in their pre-  
 “sent difficulties, but might enable them to continue the expence of the  
 “public ministers at the PORT, and to carry on this valuable branch of  
 “trade with advantage; whereas at present it labours under a large debt,  
 “contracted by the said company, which they have no hope of paying,  
 “while it continues in this drooping condition.

“As

“ As to the treaty lately concluded between the OTTOMAN PORT and  
 “ FRANCE, which we had communicated to them, they acquainted us  
 “ that they did not so clearly see what advantages were given thereby to  
 “ the FRENCH; but as there was a tariff to be settled, in consequence of  
 “ this treaty, they should be better judges when they should see the said  
 “ tariff, of which they expected some further account from the ambassa-  
 “ dor at the PORT.

“ But we must beg leave to observe to your excellencies, that we very  
 “ much question whether the expedients they propose be practicable; and  
 “ we cannot take upon us to determine, whether the parliament will come  
 “ into any act for reducing the duties on TURKEY silks and grograms, or  
 “ for granting a bounty on the exportation of woollen manufactures, but  
 “ more especially for a partial bounty.

“ We must likewise represent to your excellencies, that having asked  
 “ the said merchants whether it would not be for their service, that his  
 “ majesty’s ambassador at the PORT should be instructed to apply for the  
 “ obtaining all the advantages granted to any other nation, they seemed  
 “ to decline it, on account of the encrease of expence, such application  
 “ must be attended with; and as no other expedient hitherto has occur-  
 “ red to us, that might be effectual in the present case, we must content  
 “ ourselves with stating to your excellencies the matters of fact as they  
 “ appeared to us upon our discourse with the said merchants.

All which is most humbly submitted.

Whitehall, October 9,  
 1740.

MARTIN BLADEN.  
 R. PLUMER.  
 JA. BRUDENELL.  
 R. CROFT.

## C H A P. IX.

*An act of parliament obtained for the CASPIAN trade. BRITISH factors sent into the north of PERSIA. The RUSSIAN ministry alarmed at Mr. ELTON's entering into the service of NADIR SHAH.*

**W**HATEVER reasons at that time prevented the TURKEY company from receiving such national encouragement as they seemed to think necessary, it was one popular argument in favour of the proposed trade to PERSIA, that it would not stand in need of such assistance, and would be free to every subject on the common terms of the small fine or contribution of five pounds. The encrease of the foreign consumption of our woollen manufactures, and the introduction of raw silk on the easiest terms, were also reasons of the most persuasive kind, to bring the parliament to a resolution in favour of it. Several members of the RUSSIA company were called to the bar of the house of commons, particularly Mr. ROBERT DINGLEY, and Mr. ROBERT CRAMMOND, who managed the point so well, that the arguments produced by the TURKEY company, had no longer any weight.

The national benefit being therefore apparent to both houses of parliament, an act was passed that sessions as follows.

“ **W**HEREAS by letters patent, dated at WESTMINSTER the 26th of fe-  
 “ bruary, in the first and second years of the reign of king PHILIP and  
 “ queen MARY, their majesties did give and grant to certain persons therein men-  
 “ tioned, by the name of merchants adventurers of ENGLAND, for the discovery  
 “ of lands, territories, isles, dominions, and seigniories unknown, and not be-  
 “ fore their late adventure or enterprize by seas or navigation commonly fre-  
 “ quented, the sole privilege of trading to the dominions and territories of the  
 “ emperor of RUSSIA.

“ And

“ And whereas the liberties, powers, and privileges granted by the said letters patent, were afterwards, by an act of parliament made in the eighth year of the reign of queen ELIZABETH, confirmed to the said merchants, and their successors, by the name of the fellowship of ENGLISH merchants for discovery of new trades (now commonly called the RUSSIA company;) by which the said fellowship are to have the sole privilege of trading to and from the dominions and territories of the emperor of RUSSIA, lying northwards, north-eastwards, and north westwards, from the city of LONDON; as also to the countries of ARMENIA MAJOR OR MINOR, MEDIA, HYRCANIA, PERSIA, or the CASPIAN sea:

“ And whereas by an act made in the tenth and eleventh years of the reign of king WILLIAM the third, to enlarge the trade to RUSSIA, any subject of this realm hath a right to be made free of the said fellowship, paying for such his admission five pounds and no more:

“ And whereas by an act of parliament passed in the twelfth year of the reign of his late majesty king CHARLES the second, entitled an act for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation, it is amongst other things enacted, that no goods of foreign growth, production, and manufacture, which by the said act are to be brought into ENGLAND, IRELAND, WALES, the islands of GUERNSEY OR JERSEY, or town of BERWICK UPON TWEED, in ENGLISH OR other shipping navigated in such manner as therein is mentioned, shall be shipped or brought from any other place or places, country or countries, but only from those of the said growth, production or manufacture, or from those ports where the said goods and commodities could only, or were, or usually had been first shipped for transportation, and from none other places or countries, under the penalties of the forfeiture of all such goods, as also the ship in which they are imported, with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, to be divided and recovered, as in the said act is directed, with proviso that the said act shall not extend, or be meant, to restrain and prohibit the importing of any of the commodities of the STREIGHTS OR LEVANT seas, in ENGLISH built shipping, and navigated as therein is directed, from the usual ports or places for lading them within the said STREIGHTS OR LEVANT seas, or the importing any EAST INDIA commodities, loaden in the like shipping, and so navigated from the usual place or places for lading of them, in any part of those seas, to the southward and eastward of CABO BONA SPERANZA, although

“ the said commodities be not of the very growth of the said ports or places respectively :

“ And whereas at the time of passing the said act last-mentioned, it was not usual to bring to this kingdom raw silk, and other goods and commodities of the growth, produce or manufacture of PERSIA, through the dominions and territories of the emperor of RUSSIA :

“ And whereas it may be of great advantage to this kingdom to open a trade to and from PERSIA through RUSSIA, by promoting the consumption of the woollen and other manufactures, goods, and commodities thereof, if raw silk, and other the goods and commodities of the growth, produce, and manufacture of PERSIA, be permitted to be imported into this kingdom from RUSSIA, in return for such woollen and other manufactures as shall be exported from hence into RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, and not otherwise; be it enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the 24th day of June, 1741, it shall and may be lawful to and for any person or persons free or to be free of the said fellowship of ENGLISH merchants, for discovery of new trades, commonly called the RUSSIA company, exclusive of all others, to bring and import into this kingdom, in BRITISH built shipping, navigated according to law, from any port or place, of or belonging to the czar or emperor of RUSSIA, raw silk, or any other goods or commodities of the growth, produce, and manufacture of PERSIA, (provided such manufacture be made of the growth or produce of PERSIA) being purchased by barter, with woollen or other manufactures, goods or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA (gold and silver in coin or bullion excepted); or with the produce arising from the sales of such manufactures, goods, or commodities so exported to RUSSIA, and carried into PERSIA as aforesaid, and not otherwise; upon paying or securing the customs and other duties, now payable for the same, by any law now in force, according to such rules, methods, and directions, and in the same manner and form, and with such allowances, abatements, discounts, and drawbacks, and under such penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities, as are by law prescribed and practised on the importation of the like goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, imported into this kingdom, from any port or place in the LEVANT

“ fees,

“feas, by any person or persons free of the LEVANT or TURKEY company; any  
 “thing in the said recited act, made in the twelfth year of the reign of king  
 “CHARLES the second, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

“And be it further enacted, that no silk or other produce, commodities, or  
 “manufactures of PERSIA, shall be imported into GREAT BRITAIN through RUS-  
 “SIA, by virtue of this act, unless the importer or importers thereof do take an  
 “oath, or, being of the people called Quakers, a solemn affirmation, before the  
 “collector, customer, or comptroller of his majesty’s customs, (who are here-  
 “by empowered to administer the same) at the port or place of importation,  
 “that, to the best of his or their knowledge and belief, the silk and other the  
 “produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, contained in his or their  
 “entry or entries, was or were really and truly purchased by barter with woollen  
 “or other manufactures, goods, or commodities exported from GREAT BRITAIN  
 “to RUSSIA, and from thence carried into PERSIA, (not being gold or silver in  
 “coin or bullion) or with the produce arising from the sales of such woollen  
 “or other manufactures, goods or commodities so exported as aforesaid, and not  
 “otherwise; and in default of taking such oath or affirmation, all such silk or  
 “other the produce, commodities, or manufactures of PERSIA, so imported  
 “from RUSSIA, shall be liable to be seized and forfeited, in like manner as if  
 “the same had been imported contrary to the said act, made in the twelfth year of  
 “the reign of his late majesty king CHARLES the second, intituled, an act for en-  
 “couraging and increasing of shipping and navigation.

“Provided always, and be it further enacted, that nothing in this act contain-  
 “ed shall extend, or be construed to extend, to the permitting the using or wear-  
 “ing, in this kingdom, any wrought silks, or other the goods or commodities  
 “of the manufacture of PERSIA, mentioned in the act passed in the eleventh year  
 “of the reign of his late majesty king WILLIAM the third, intituled, an act for  
 “the more effectual employing the poor, by encouraging the manufactures of  
 “this kingdom, which may be imported by virtue hereof through RUSSIA; but  
 “the same act, and every clause therein contained, so far as the same relates to  
 “the importing the said goods into the port of LONDON only, and to the entry  
 “thereof, and payment of the duties, and putting the same into proper ware-  
 “houses, and exporting them on security, and to the seizing and prosecuting  
 “those goods, and dividing the produce of such seizures, and keeping proper  
 “accounts thereof, and subjecting the persons concerned to penalties and disabi-  
 “lities,

“ ties, for breach of the said act, shall be practised, and be of full force and effect for the purposes aforesaid, as if the said act, and the several clauses therein contained, were particularly, and at large, repeated and set down in the body of this act.

“ And be it further enacted, that if any question, dispute, or doubts shall arise, whether any of the goods or commodities to be imported by virtue of this act, be of the growth, produce, or manufacture of PERSIA, or not, or were imported contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and the same shall, for that reason, be seized as forfeited, the proof thereof shall be incumbent on the importer or claimer, and not upon the officer or informer; and the commissioners of the customs, if they see sufficient cause, shall and may direct the officer of the customs, who made the seizure, to proceed in the prosecution thereof; or not; and judgment thereupon shall be given for recovery of the forfeiture.

“ And it be it further enacted, that if any action or suit shall be commenced against any person or persons, for any thing done in pursuance of this act, the defendant or defendants in such action or suit may plead the general issue, and give this act, and the special matter, in evidence, at any trial to be had thereupon; and that the same was done in pursuance and by authority of this act; and if it shall appear so to have been done, then the jury shall find for the defendant or defendants; and if the plaintiff shall be nonsuited, or discontinue his action, after the defendant or defendants shall have appeared, or if judgment shall be given upon any verdict or demurrer against the plaintiff, the defendant or defendants shall and may recover treble costs, and have the like remedy for the same, as defendants have in other cases by law.

“ Provided also, that any thing in this act contained shall not extend, or be construed to extend, to hinder or deprive the corporation of the united company of merchants of ENGLAND, trading to the EAST INDIES, from having and enjoying all and every such powers, privileges, franchises, benefits, matters, or things, as do or shall belong to them, or which they could or might enjoy in any manner of ways, if this act had not been made; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

“ And

“ And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that this shall be adjudged and deemed to be a public act, and shall be judicially taken notice of as such, by all judges, justices, and other persons, without specially pleading “ the same.”

The RUSSIA company now prepared to send factors into GHILAN, and with them a considerable quantity of cloth, and other woollen goods. This enterprize required, in a more peculiar manner, great unanimity. The ARMENIANS were already fixed in the CASPIAN commerce; and it is natural for people who have long enjoyed the sole possession of any thing, to reason themselves into a persuasion that they are the only rightful proprietors of it, and consequently that they do themselves but justice in employing all their skill and industry to oppose those who pretend to share with them. The RUSSIA company was very early apprized of what they were to expect from the ARMENIANS; it would have been therefore their interest to establish one house only in GHILAN, in order to prevent the jealousy and discord, which are but too frequent in our factories abroad, and which might be apprehended in so remote and lawless a country as PERSIA. However, as a presage of future disasters, several of the most considerable RUSSIA traders, either from a jealousy which they had entertained of those who had given Mr. ELTON the first countenance in this enterprize, or from a more judicious suspicion of ELTON himself, declined throwing their effects into his hands, but sent Mr. JAMES BROWN, Mr. MARTIN KYCK VAN MIEROP, and Mr. RICHARD WILDER into GHILAN, who arrived there in 1742, with cloth and other manufactures to a very considerable value. Mr. ELTON was not a little mortified at this step; however the first of the two BRITISH ships built at CASAN, and now completed, was put under his direction. Being also powerfully supported by large consignments of cloth, and other proper goods, he went into PERSIA <sup>z</sup>.

They are but ill acquainted with life, who do not know that it is chequered with evil, and the pleasures and advantages of it alloyed with

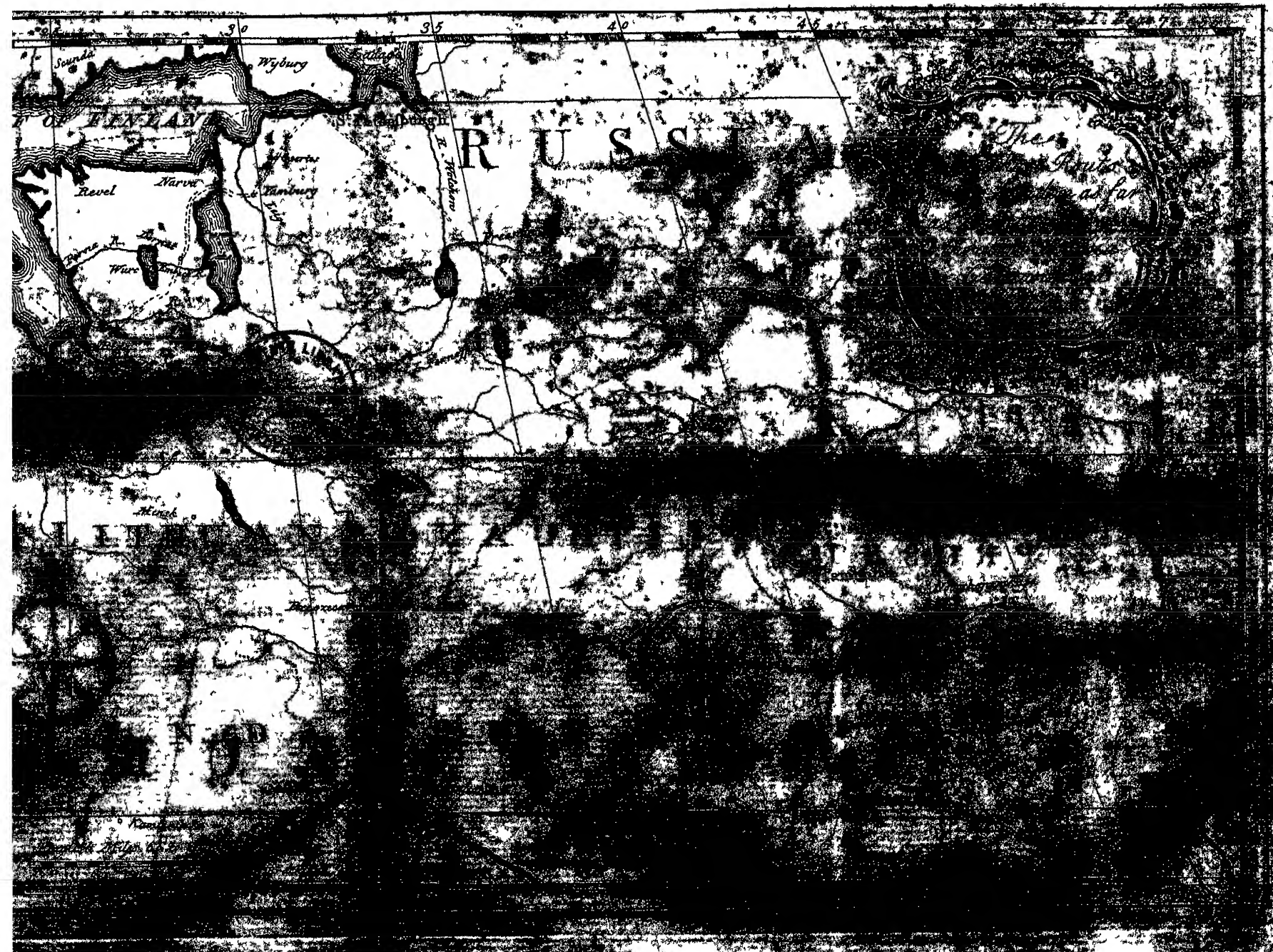
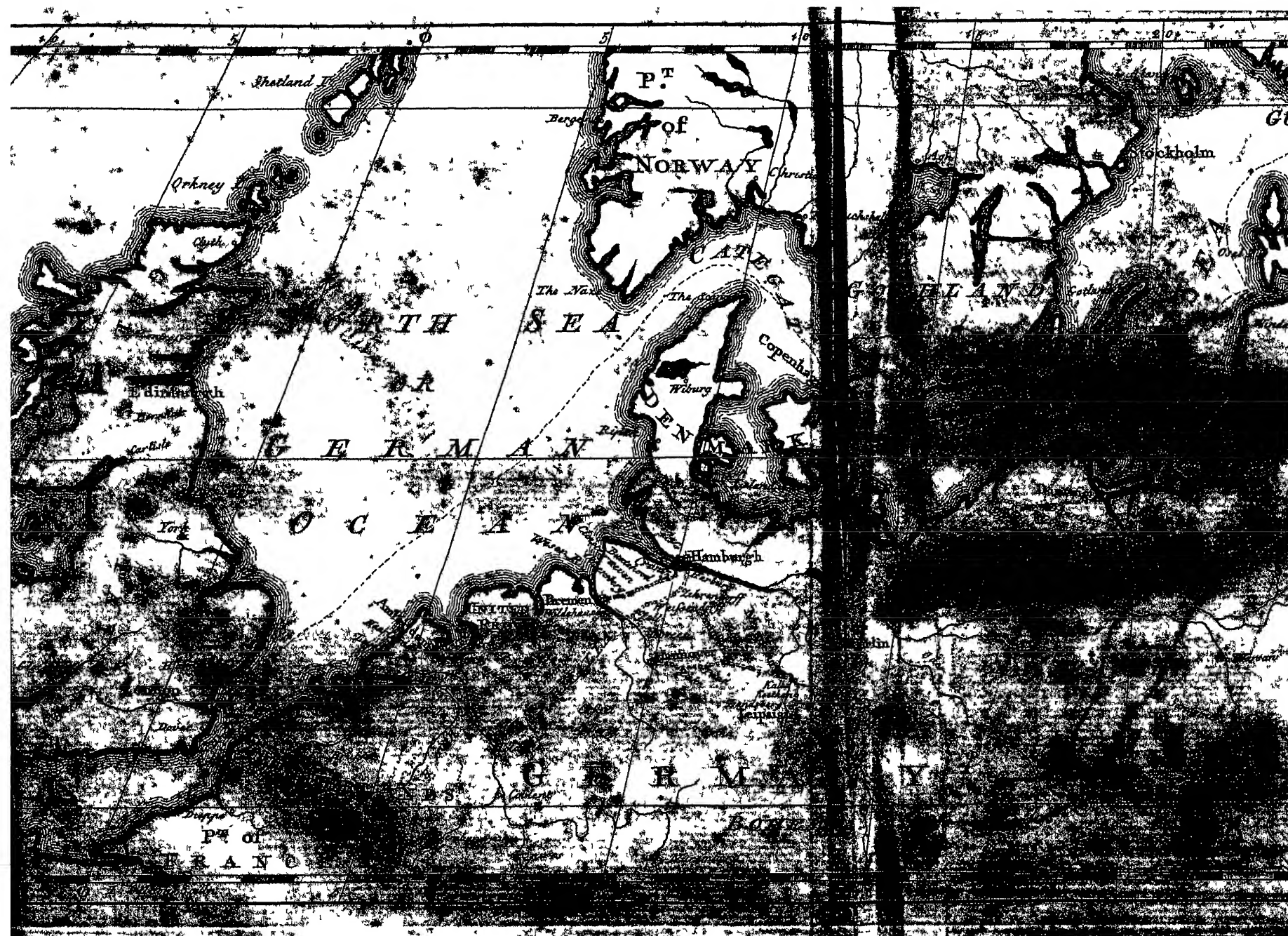
<sup>z</sup> See WOODROOFE'S journal, chap. 22, and 23.

their

their contraries. I have already observed, that Mr. ELTON had been employed in the RUSSIAN service, and was bred a seaman. He had many abilities, but wanted some talents that were requisite on the present occasion.

No sooner was he arrived in GHILAN, than a quarrel ensued between him and the RUSSIAN consul ARAPOFF. Whether this was owing to Mr. ELTON's being deficient in that skilful moderation, so essential to the good conduct of commercial affairs, I will not pretend to say; ARAPOFF appeared to me a very honest and discreet man: this however is most certain, and in ELTON's favour, that very soon after his arrival in PERSIA, captain WOODROOFE, who commanded the first BRITISH ship built for this trade, was treated by the RUSSIAN secretary at DERBEND, with great cruelty, as will be fully related hereafter.

Ambition had certainly a share in Mr. ELTON's resolutions; for he immediately entered into the service of NADIR SHAH, as superintendent of the PERSIAN coast of the CASPIAN, with design to build ships in the EUROPEAN manner, if it should be found practicable. The news of this soon reached the factors of St. PETERSBURG, but in a very obscure and imperfect manner. It gave them however some concern for the security of their effects, and still more for the offence, which they easily foresaw would be taken by the RUSSIAN court.



## C H A P. X.

*The author's voyage to RIGA. A description of ELSINEUR, the Sound, and the forts that guard this passage.*

**I**N February 1743, I accepted the offer of a partnership in Mr. DINGLEY's house at St. PETERSBURG; in consequence hereof I was made acquainted with the CASPIAN trade, which was then in its infancy, and the object of the sanguine hopes of several of our most considerable merchants. From that time I indulged a desire of seeing PERSIA, a country so renowned for great and memorable events both in antient and modern history.

In April following I embarked in the river THAMES on board an ~~ENG-~~ LISH ship bound for RIGA. The several wrecks which then appeared in the sands and shallows on the east coast of ENGLAND, gave me but melancholy impressions of the danger of a sea life. We had severe weather for the season, and the ship being very old and crazy, rendered my situation by no means agreeable. It is perhaps hard to say if the motion a ship, or the smell of tar is most apt to create the sea sickness; when this sickness is extreme, certainly nothing but the acutest distemper can exceed it: gentle acids, and cooling foods are the greatest relief.

It was now the beginning of May, yet the winds in the north sea were extremely cold. The BALTIC is seldom clear of ice till the middle of that month, and the winds which pass over it are generally piercing. At length we arrived in the SOUND. This STREIGHT is about two ENGLISH miles broad; the castle of KRONENBURG, on the DANISH side, guards the entrance. ELSIMBURG is on the opposite side, on the SWEDISH continent. In some winters this passage is frozen up.

The duty paid here at different periods of time, has varied very much; it is now near 3 4ths per cent. upon most kinds of goods, and it is said to amount to 70,000 crowns<sup>a</sup>. The original of this duty was to defray the charge of light-houses and buoys, which the DANES fixed at proper places, for the safety and convenience of navigators; thus they easily procured the consent of the several princes and states who traded into the BALTIC, to which this is a more important pass, than GIBRALTAR is to the MEDITERRANEAN. In times of war vessels of moderate burthen have passed the greater BELT at the back of ZEALAND; though the navigation here is more precarious, and the STREIGHTS of NEWBERG are also very narrow. In 1644, and the following year, the HOLLANDERS passed the SOUND in merchant-men as well as ships of war, though the SWEDES, with whom they were at war, were then possessed of both sides of the passage.

The cannon now mounted in KRONENBURG castle are large, and probably much bigger than they were in those days; but a sufficient depth of water, a leading gale, and intrepid mariners might easily surmount any obstacle to be found there, should necessity require the trial. This castle projects into the water, and is so far detached from the town as to enjoy an open and delightful prospect, and by its buildings, extent, and verdure within the walls, is rendered an agreeable place<sup>b</sup>.

The consuls of ENGLAND, FRANCE, HOLLAND, and SWEDEN, reside in the town. Mr. FENWICK, the ENGLISH consul, received me very politely. ELSENEUR is a neat little town, watered by a spring in the east part of it; and the streets being in some places lined with trees, have an agreeable effect. The neighbourhood of the SWEDES makes the DANISH garrison strict in the examination of all who come into the town. COPENHAGEN is distant from hence about 20 ENGLISH miles.

<sup>a</sup> Lately increased to 100,000 crowns, of 5 s. 6 d. the DANES having wisely taken the precaution to instruct some of their custom-house officers in the RUSSIAN language, the duties being demanded on the goods specified on the clearances in RUSSIA.

<sup>b</sup> The works I am told are lately enlarged, and made more formidable than at the time I saw them.

The remarkable piety of the DANISH nation appears even amongst the common soldiers. I observed with great pleasure their good order and discipline. When the guard was mounted, they made their addresses to the supreme being, in a regular manner<sup>c</sup>. The DANES are said to maintain 30,000 men. They have a small trade to CHINA; our masters of ships are sometimes supplied by that nation with CHINA goods, but of late years these are not only much advanced in price, but very bad in quality. This is also a little magazine of wine, brandy, and such commodities as are used by the merchant ships. The boats employed in this road are very broad and shallow, and though the sea sometimes runs high, they live, as the seamen term it, in a surprizing manner.

From ELSINEUR we weighed, and passed by COPENHAGEN, the royal palace of which forms a magnificent prospect from the water. The sea here is often very clear and transparent. Hence we passed by BORNHOLM, which affords an agreeable prospect in serene weather, but in the close of the season is a great object of terror to mariners; few ships navigate this sea from November to April. Soon after we descried the coast of COURLAND, which affords a sandy and inhospitable prospect.

Having gentle breezes, in a short time we made the bay of RIGA. As it was now the end of May, it is not easy to conceive how pleasant the BALTIC sea is, and how much the scene was changed for the better. Tho' a maritime life had no utility, yet sailing in fair weather might induce many to practise it, who desire to enlarge the scene of their pleasures. Here we were obliged to lighten our ship, by throwing out part of the ballast, that she might not draw above 11 feet water, being the depth usually found on the bar.

<sup>c</sup> A practise so little imitated in some of the polite nations, that one hardly ever sees a soldier at church, but when he is going to execution for desertion, or worse crimes. It was remarkable in the late war, that when all the different nations which composed the confederate army were performing their daily devotions, the \* \* \* soldiers only, seemed to have no sense of the being of a God.

After a tedious passage of 26 days, it was no small pleasure to go ashore; but by no means agreeable to be carried as a prisoner to the castle of DWENAMUND, where I was kept above an hour in the company of common soldiers, and under secretaries, who are but a small remove from common soldiers.

RUSSIA being then at war with SWEDEN, I was questioned if I had any passport. They saw that I was a merchant from ENGLAND; I produced letters of recommendation from monsieur NARRISKIN, then the RUSSIAN minister at the court of LONDON, to count BESTUCHEFF, the great chancellor of RUSSIA, and also to count LESTOCK<sup>d</sup>; and yet they made great difficulties concerning the want of a passport, which it is not usual to bring from ENGLAND. Petty officers in the RUSSIAN service, often conjure up difficulties, out of a religious regard to the letter of their orders; but the master of the ship no sooner made the ORDINARY COMPLIMENT, than we were received by the officer on duty as the friends of his sovereign. From thence I went by land about half a day's journey to RIGA.

<sup>d</sup> The same who was afterwards disgraced.

## C H A P. ' XI.

*The author is detained at RIGA, by order of the governor. Description of that city and its trade. An account of DORPT and NARVA, with the trade thereof. The author arrives at St. PETERSBURG.*

**I**T was about the 20th of May when I arrived at RIGA. The weather was as hot as ever I remember it, during many years abode in PORTUGAL; for the sun leaves the horizon only three or four hours, and its reflection continues even great part of that time, so that, tho' the dews fall, neither the earth, nor consequently the air, has time to become temperate.

Here I was received by the BRITISH factors with great kindness and marks of regard, particularly by Mr. THOMAS SPENCER and his brother. These gentlemen are distinguished by their affluence and generosity. They gave me a hospitable reception, which was the more pleasing, as I found myself reserved for the honour of being a state prisoner. I produced the most indubitable credentials, the same I have already mentioned; and also letters of recommendation to the ENGLISH factors in RIGA, by all which it appeared I was an ENGLISH factor going to reside in St. PETERSBURG. But the governor having received orders that no person should proceed from thence without express leave from the court then residing in St. PETERSBURG, he would not give me a passport, and I was obliged to wait there for seventeen days. Such is the jealousy which the neighbourhood of the SWEDES creates in time of war.

I spent this time as agreeably as a garrison and its confines would permit, but not a little mortified and surprized with the extreme heat. I was assured, that after the melting of the snow, the earth being impregnated with the nitre which the snow contains, sometimes brings to maturity, in six weeks, the rye which has lain in the ground during the win-

ter; and that wheat has been sown and reaped within the same time: the truth of which I should have disputed, if it had not been asserted by persons of undoubted veracity.

This city, which had now a considerable garrison of RUSSIAN forces, was built about the year 1190, when this country first received the knowledge of CHRIST. It is the metropolis of LIVONIA, a place of great consequence, situated in the latitude of 57, on the north east of the DWENA, which runs into the gulph of RIGA. It was taken from the SWEDES by PETER THE GREAT in 1710, after a siege of three months, in which time the SWEDISH garrison, by famine, the plague, and the sword, were reduced from 12000 to 5000 men; and of the burghers and inhabitants there died about 60,000. Several houses have yet marks of the bombardment; the gallantry of the SWEDES in defending this place, was in some measure rewarded by the superior genius of PETER THE GREAT, who granted the town a very honourable capitulation, which has been ever since religiously observed. The magistracy preserve the civil power, according to their antient immunities; and the keys of the town gates are deposited with them every night. The burghers have the sole right of buying of the POLISH and RUSSIAN merchants; and consequently the ENGLISH factors, and other foreigners, can buy only of the burghers: the latter, by this exclusive privilege, might be much enriched; but by excessive high living, and making their trade a kind of stock-jobbing, numbers of them of late years are become bankrupts. Besides the corporation of burghers, which has the management of the city affairs only, the crown has a court under the RUSSIAN laws. This takes cognizance of the assessments for quartering of soldiers, and other matters relating to the government. There is also a provincial court for the affairs of the province, considered as distinct from the city.

The river DWENA generally closes about the end of November, and opens again near the middle of March; so that this town has the advantage of St. PETERSBURG, the NEVA being there closed about six weeks longer.

longer. When the ice breaks up, it often comes down in such large pieces, and with so vast a weight, as to remove points of land, and form banks, which sometimes remain for several years. This renders it impossible for any standing bridge to be built over the river, an inconvenience which is removed by a bridge of rafts and boards, during the summer season; so that they walk even with the surface of the water. About 300 vessels can conveniently lay and take in their loading to the depth of nine feet water. Larger ships load in a creek not far distant, where there are seven fathoms water; and ships which cannot pass the bar, load below it, at a place called the BALDERA.

The chief commodities here, are hemp, flax, masts and timber. The quantity of the hemp is generally about 40,000 schipounds<sup>e</sup>, which is brought down in struzes<sup>f</sup> of 50 to 70 feet long, and 20 to 30 feet broad, made head and stern alike, and steered by oars of about 25 feet, of which there is one at the head, and another at the stern.

The POLANDERS bring a large proportion of these commodities, chiefly from the POLISH UKRAINE. The flax is brought from DRUANA and LITHUANIA, a great part of which they call DRUANA RAGITZER and LITHUANIA RAGITZER. The timber is from those parts of POLAND which border on TURKEY; great part of that which is fit for masts is two summers in its passage to RIGA. This place formerly exported vast quantities of corn for SWEDEN and other countries; but the system of politics in that country having been for some time repugnant to that of RUSSIA, the town has suffered the inconvenience of a prohibition.

RIGA has sometimes loaded annually near 500 ships, of which above 300 were from the UNITED PROVINCES; but as the trade of that country in general has been for some years on the decay, the number of DUTCH ships at this port has decreased; nor indeed has the timber, in which great part of the trade consisted, been so essential to those pro-

<sup>e</sup> 6400 tons.<sup>f</sup> Flat bottomed boats

vinces, since they have found that stones will make a more lasting fence against the inroads of the sea.

They measure here by the ell, of which  $1 \frac{1}{2}$  is equal to a yard ENGLISH. Their foot of 12 inches, is equal to 11 inches ENGLISH. Their weights are

1 ounce	} is {	2 loot.
32 loot		1 pound of 16 ounces.
20 pound		1 lifpound.
20 lifpound		1 schippound.

And they generally reckon  $3 \frac{1}{2}$  Ct. ENGLISH to a schippound.

Liquors are sold by the stoop, of which three are equal to an ENGLISH gallon.

The money current here is rix dollars alberts, equal to 80 farthings.

2 farthings = 1 mark.

20 marks = 1 ort.

4 orts 1 rix dollar, alberts.

This mark is an imaginary species of money, but they have another kind of mark of 6 grofs, by which some commodities are bought.

The farthings are POLISH as well as SWEDISH coin.

The merchants keep their accounts in rix dollars <sup>s</sup> and grofs, 90 grofs to a rix dollar.—But the tradesmen keep their accounts in rix dollars of 40 marks.

The houses here are made steep in the roof, for the better carrying off the water, which is very penetrating when the snow melts. In this they

<sup>s</sup> Generally worth 5 s. 6 d. according as the exchange is on AMSTERDAM.

excel the RUSSIANS, who have still greater occasion to provide against the like inconvenience. The cellars are used as magazines for flax, and other goods; and the entrance, or first apartment, in most houses, is the coach-house, by which you must pass to the parlour and dining-room. The houses have seldom above two stories, and the streets are narrow. GERMAN is the language of the people of RIGA, but the peasants in the neighbourhood, and other parts of LIVONIA, speak UN-DUETCH, a dialect entirely differing from the GERMAN.

My partner in St. PETERSBURG, having procured a passport for me, I provided myself with a sleeping waggon<sup>b</sup>, and on the 7th of June I took post for St. PETERSBURG. The soil about RIGA is sandy, but, after some distance, the country becomes more pleasant. In some places it is champaign, in others the hills diversify the scene. It abounds in wood and corn land, and is well watered. The post horses are exceeding bad, but as the stages are short, and the houses clean, this inconvenience is supportable. The ordinary stations for the posts are PHAR, at the river AA, GARBIN, KUKATZ and DORPT, in all about 230 wersts.

DORPT stands on a plain, and is watered by the river EMBECK, which runs into the lake PEIPUS. The country on the side towards RIGA presents a most delightful prospect. Its trade consists mostly in corn and flax, of which considerable quantities are sent to RIGA. The people here pretend, that every third year their wheat degenerates into rye; an opinion that probably has taken its rise from an unskillful cultivation of the land, which may cause the size and substance of the grain to be greatly diminished. 'Tis perhaps from the same reason reversed, the HUNGARIANS pretend, that in some parts of HUNGARY the earth is naturally so fruitful, and probably so well nourished by cultivation, that, after three years, rye becomes wheat; but neither of these pretended facts was it my

<sup>b</sup> These are made of leather, resembling a casket, and hung upon braces.

business to dispute. DORPT has the appearance of a superb heap of ruins. Here are the remains of a castle which PETER THE GREAT took from the SWEDES in 1704, upon which occasion great part of the town was destroyed by fire. From hence the country near the road is cleared of wood, and in many places well inhabited. I travelled along the banks of the lake PEIPUS, which is said to abound in fish. It is 120 werfts long, and 60 broad, communicating with the lake PSCOW<sup>1</sup>, the borders of which are famous for producing flax. From DORPT to FORMAPOSTERN 37, to RANDAFFPUNGERN 38, to PURRAW 34, to VAVARA 20, to NARVA 41 werfts.

Here I was received with great hospitality by Mr. THOMAS WINN, an ENGLISH merchant, who always distinguished himself by his great kindness to his countrymen who passed through this province, as well as for the integrity and exactness of his commercial correspondency, by which he has acquired a considerable fortune. NARVA, which is the capital of ESTONIA, is not a large town, but stands on a rising ground, is clean, and well fortified. Its trade consists mostly in flax and timber; of the first, about 220,000 poods<sup>k</sup> are generally brought to market, part of it on the snow; but the greatest quantity is transported in spring, from PSCOW, through the lake PEIPUS. Two werfts above the town there is a cataract in the river NARVA, at which they are obliged to unload the barks.—HOLLAND, PORTUGAL, and several parts of the BALTIC, as well as ENGLAND, take off this flax; as the HOLLANDERS the greatest part of the timber. Formerly they loaded 300 to 400 ships annually, with this article only; but now the number is reduced to about 100. The exportation is limited by the RUSSIAN government to 120,000 balks<sup>l</sup>, which are of 20 to 40 feet long, and 10 to 15 inches square. The ENGLISH generally demand the largest, and the HOLLANDERS the smallest kind. Every ton of shipping in measurement will take a load of timber, 50 solid feet being reckoned to a load.

<sup>1</sup> Vulgarly called the lake PLESKOW.

<sup>k</sup> About 3,500 tons.

<sup>l</sup> Firr trees.

The import here is about 15,000 lbs. weight of tobacco, and a small quantity of bale goods; but the greatest article is salt, of which they take near 100,000 poods<sup>m</sup>, 180 poods being reckoned to the last, of two tons ENGLISH. There is no depth of water for ships of above 120 tons; so that larger vessels are obliged to lay in the open road, where they are often distressed by hard gales of northerly winds; but this evil is intended to be remedied by building a pier. This city is remarkable in story for the great defeat which the RUSSIANS met in the infancy of their military power, when 100,000 of them fled before a handful of SWEDES. This happened in the year 1700; and four years afterwards it was obliged to yield to the superior numbers and fortune of the RUSSIANS, who have held it ever since; and in consequence of the favour which was shewn it by the CZAR, the town enjoys its civil government, without labouring under any oppression.

From NARVA I departed for JAMBURG, on the river LUGA, over which there is a floating bridge; here also stands an old castle. From thence I proceeded to OSERTES, passing out of ESTONIA into INGRIA, where the road is mostly made of timber. The land within 20 wersts of St. PETERSBURG on the banks of the NEVA, is very marshy. From NARVA to St. PETERSBURG is 146 wersts, and the whole distance from RIGA 546<sup>n</sup>. Notwithstanding the several stops I made on the road, together with the bad post horses, I arrived the fourth day without much difficulty.

<sup>m</sup> Above 1100 tons.

<sup>n</sup> 398 miles.

## C H A P. XII.

*The BRITISH factory at PETERSBURG alarmed by the complaints of the court of RUSSIA against Mr. ELTON. The author offers his service to go into PERSIA, and takes the charge of a caravan of woollen goods designed for that country.*

I Arrived at St. PETERSBURG the 10th of June, a day somewhat remarkable to me, as being the same on which I landed at LISBON fourteen years before, when I first went abroad ; but remarkable to many for the birth of a man, who might as well have not been born for any good he has done the world in general, or his unfortunate and deluded adherents in particular.

I was extremely pleased to find a city so open, airy, and regularly built in many places, with very good houses in the ITALIAN taste.

My reader will remember that I had formed a design of going into PERSIA, should any convenient occasion offer. The several intimations of the distressed condition of that country, had indeed made some impression on me, but not much abated my curiosity. Very few weeks had past before my partner, and other factors who were correspondents with Mr. ELTON, being alarmed with the complaints of the RUSSIAN court in relation to that gentleman, resolved, that one of them would make a journey into PERSIA. I then offered my service, which was accepted.

How far Mr. ELTON had carried the design of trading from GREAT-BRITAIN over the CASPIAN sea into PERSIA, and how well it had succeeded to his wishes, has been already related : but now we had reason to believe, that, not contented with the pursuit of commercial affairs, he had injudiciously engaged in the service of NADIR SHAH, to build ships on the CASPIAN after the EUROPEAN manner. This was not then acknowledged

Chap. XII. JOURNEY FROM ST. PETERSBURG, &c. 83  
ed by ELTON, nor entirely credited by his friends in St. PETERSBURG, but was thought a sufficient cause to make an enquiry. Other reasons of jealousy also concurring, we applied to Sir CYRIL WYCH, at that time his majesty's minister at the court of RUSSIA, and he, by a memorial to the great chancellor's office, demanded a passport for me, which was granted.

I provided myself with a convenient sleeping-waggon, another for my clerk, and a third for my baggage, also a RUSSIAN menial servant, a tartar boy and a soldier: then having received such instructions as were necessary from the factors who were interested in this new commerce, and taken upon me the charge of a caravan of thirty seven bales of ENGLISH cloth, I prepared for my journey,

This caravan of cloth, making twenty loads, set out the 1st of SEPTEMBER. The 10th of that month I followed it, not without some painful apprehensions that though I might probably arrive time enough to obtain a passage over the CASPIAN into PERSIA, yet the caravan would be too late in the season.

I had an order for nine post-horses, and was determined to make what speed the conveyance of the several necessary things I carried with me would admit; but notwithstanding this order for the facility of obtaining such a number of horses, and greater dispatch, I hired COPEACHNICKS\*. It is too much the custom in RUSSIA for officers or persons who travel with servants or soldiers, to treat the peasants with insolence. The first charge I gave my attendants, was, to avoid every occasion of dispute, and still more of oppression; that if any insult was offered to them, they should inform me, that I might judge in what manner it ought to be repented.

\* Peasants horses, for which they pay one copeck or a half-penny each werst; whereas post-horses are but  $\frac{1}{2}$  a copeck, and not so good.

The rainy and frosty season being already come on, I found the roads extremely bad, especially for about fifteen wersts. The adjacent country to St. PETERSBURG, would be impassable but for the great care which is taken in mending the roads with timber and fascines. A peace being concluded with SWEDEN, we overtook great numbers of soldiers who were retiring to their winter quarters.

On the 11th we found the road better, though the ground about us was marshy, and little or no arable land appeared. We got this evening to PREESTAN, which is 123 wersts from St. PETERSBURG. On the 12th we advanced thirty-six wersts to the river VOLCOFF, which it was necessary to pass. The banks of this river are very pleasant, part consisting of rich arable lands. It communicates with the lake LODOGA, vessels passing through this river to the canal, which runs into the NEVA; also with the lake ILMEN at NOVOGORODE from whence, by the river MSTA and TWERSA, it communicates with the VOLGA at the city UGLITZ.

The ferry-man finding that I was a merchant, began to be insolent. These boors usually entertain a contemptible notion of their own traders, compared with military people, which they extend to merchants in general. I could not help observing upon this, as upon many other occasions, the obstinate opinion which the peasants had imbibed of the little respect due to merchants, though this barbarity of manners wears off very fast amongst the politer part of the people. The delay and impertinence to which I found myself thus exposed, necessarily called on my soldier to exercise his cane, which soon brought my antagonist to his duty. As the road on the opposite side of this river was exceeding bad, we intended to have gone up to NOVOGORODE by water, but the wind blowing strong in our teeth prevented us.

The 13th, the darkness of the night, the hard wind and rain, and excessive bad road, obliged us to halt, and sleep in our waggons in the open field, especially as one of them remained till morning stuck in a bog.

We

We overtook a party of COSSACKS, who had served in the war against the SWEDES; one of them seized hold of my horses, but he soon dispelled my fears by informing me that he had discovered the horse he had lost three years ago, which proved to be the real case; he very civilly procured me another to the next stage, and we parted with mutual wishes of a good journey. From the VOLCOFF, we passed the MSTA, near NOVOGORODE, and thence came to BRONITZ on the 14th, which is 230 wersts from St. PETERSBURG. I now found the weather mild, which was a joyful circumstance to me, who had not been accustomed to autumn journeys in a rigorous climate. The road also was open and pleasant, which was some consolation for our being obliged to take this rout, the best road being under repair. The land in several places is dry and arable, and provisions so cheap, that good beef may be bought for the value of three farthings a pound, mutton and pork in proportion, and bread about one sixth part of its usual price with us in ENGLAND.

The RUSSIANS, though not the acutest lawyers, understand how to torture words, and make them say what was never intended: my PODEROSNOI<sup>P</sup>, by some omission or ambiguity, now left me at the mercy of the post-masters, as it was so worded as to signify either post-horses or YAM-SHEEKS<sup>Q</sup>. We passed by KRESTIKOI, and went 40 wersts to ISACOFF. The 15th. Last night the axle-tree of my own waggon broke: the RUSSIAN vehicles, unless made by express commission, are very subject to such accidents. This day we arrived at VALDAI, where is a considerable monastery, situated on a little island formed by the adjacent lake: the town is the property of the monastery. The inhabitants are mostly the descendants of the POLES, who were brought here as prisoners in former wars, but the distinction is now almost lost. The dress of the women is neater, and their persons are more comely than in general those of the RUSSIAN peasants; but their excessive laughter, and painted faces, greatly diminish the external charms which nature has bestowed on them. The

<sup>P</sup> Order for horses.

<sup>Q</sup> Horses for which 2 copecks a werst are paid in this place.

country is very hilly, and affords many pleasant prospects. VENUS seems to have had here a more peculiar residence from the several amorous songs which the RUSSIANS hold in great esteem, in relation to the scenes of delight which this place affords; though the more refined parts of love, are hardly to be found among the present inhabitants. Here we got horses for  $1\frac{1}{4}$  copeeks a werst each horse.

The 16th. By noon we had advanced 99 wersts to VISHNEIVOLOCHOQUE: here we took horses for 130 wersts. The next day, passing over several branches of the MSTA and TWERSA, I got to TWERE, where I came up with my caravan of cloth. Great complaints were made by the ISWOSHICKS<sup>1</sup>, of the badness of the roads, insomuch that my fear of its not reaching PERSIA that year encreased; therefore instead of one horse to each load, I ordered two, and promised to divide something considerable among the carriers, if they exerted themselves to the utmost of their strength and ability.

And now we are upon this subject, before I proceed further, perhaps it may afford some gratification to the curious, to be informed in what manner caravans usually travel in this country.

### C H A P. XIII.

*The best manner of ordering caravans in RUSSIA, and how they are generally conducted.*

**I**N RUSSIA, carriages for merchandize are drawn only by one horse. These vehicles are nine or ten feet long, and two or three broad, and are principally composed of two strong poles, supported by four wheels of near an equal size, and about as high as the fore wheels of our or-

<sup>1</sup> Carriers.

dinary coaches, but made very slight: many of the rounds of the wheels are of a single piece of wood, and open in one part for near an inch; and some of them are not shod with iron.

The first care is to lay the bales as high as the cart will admit, on a bed of matts of the thickest sort<sup>†</sup>. Besides the original package, which is calculated to stand the weather, the bales are usually covered with very thick matts, and over these other matts are laid, to prevent the friction of the ropes; lastly there is another covering of matts, in the want of raw cow hides, which are always best to defend the goods from rain, or from the snow, which, when it melts, is yet more penetrating. Each bale is sealed up with a leaden seal, to prevent its being opened on the road, or any of the goods vended in the country, that is, when they are intended for PERSIA.

In St. PETERSBURG, from whence the BRITISH caravans always set out, it is necessary to provide a WIPIS<sup>‡</sup>, which must be carried to the custom-house of ASTRACHAN, and also passports for the people that attend the caravan. The manner of procuring horses is to agree with one or more PODERATCHICKS<sup>§</sup>, who provide for the whole caravan, in the summer season at the rate of about one ruble a pood<sup>¶</sup>, for the carriage from St. PETERSBURG to ZARITZEN, which is near 1800 wersts; and in winter it is only 40 copeeks<sup>\*</sup>. These waggons usually carry from 25 to 30 poods. On every agreement of this kind, the crown receives a duty of 10 per cent. but the carriers are not very scrupulous in regard to the declaration of the exact price.

As this duty is by agreement usually paid by the master-carrier, he takes out a CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE<sup>‡</sup>, and having part of the money advanced, he provides the carriers, and every thing necessary for the journey. And

<sup>†</sup> The RUSSIANS call these matts loobkas and finofkas.    <sup>‡</sup> A custom-house permit.    <sup>§</sup> Master carriers.    <sup>¶</sup> 36 lb. ENGLISH.    <sup>\*</sup> Which is equal to 19  $\frac{1}{2}$  pence per stone of 14 lbs. ENGLISH, for 1200 ENGLISH miles in summer, but in winter not quite 8 pence per stone.    <sup>‡</sup> A certain clearance so called.

here a ZAPIS<sup>2</sup> is of excellent use to keep these people in order, for by this they oblige themselves to watch the goods at night, and preserve them as much as possible from fire, water, and thieves; but in the last case little dependence ought to be made on them, either for courage or for arms. On this account the conductor of the caravan (who with us in the BRITISH trade was generally a foreigner) ought to take particular care of this registered bond; for the carriers being uneasy at the restraint it lays them under, will sometimes attempt to steal it from him while he is asleep.

Spring and autumn are very bad seasons for travelling, as my caravan at this time experienced. There is a law in force, made in favour of the carriers, by which any contract for transporting merchandize in the winter becomes null and void, if the roads are broke up by a thaw, and thereby rendered impracticable to travel in sledges, in which case the carriers have the liberty of taking out their horses, and leaving a caravan in any town they can most easily reach. The conductors of caravans generally chuse to lodge in villages, a few miles wide of MOSCO. If they come into the city, the goods must be housed in the GOSTINADWORE<sup>3</sup>, or pay three copeeks a load, the same as if they had been housed. There is no necessity to make any stay in this city, except to register the clearances, or to gratify the carriers, who are too fond of the spirit of corn to pass great towns without their fill of it.

At NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, a frontier garrison towards the DON COSACKS, they examine the CHAMATAVOI YERLIQUE, already mentioned; and the officers, in order to extort a present, usually make great difficulties; but when they are reminded, that according to the treaty of commerce with the BRITISH crown, and the EMPRESS's regulations of trade, a dollar is due for every hour of illegal detention, they soon became reconciled to the acceptance of a loaf of sugar, or a few bottles of brandy, and suffer the caravan to proceed.

<sup>2</sup> A registered bond.

<sup>3</sup> Public warehouses.

The caravans generally set out about 12, both in the night and day, except in the heat of summer. In the winter between St. PETERSBURG and MOSCO, they usually travel 70 wersts in 24 hours<sup>b</sup>; but from MOSCO to ZARITZEN, only 40 or 50 wersts: in summer their stages are shorter. Great part of the last mentioned road being through an uninhabited country, makes the carriers cautious not to jade their horses. Every time they set out, the conductor ought to count the loads. When necessity requires that the caravan should be drawn within fences, or into yards, the heads of the waggons ought to stand towards the door in a regular order, and a guard, who will keep a better watch than an ordinary carrier, should be set over it: for want of this precaution, whole caravans in RUSSIA have been sometimes consumed by fire. It is most eligible to stop in the field, where the usual method is to form the carriages into a ring, and bring the horses as well as the men within it, always observing to keep in such a position as best to prevent an attack, or repulse an enemy. The KHALMUCKS on the banks of the VOLGA are ever ready to embrace an opportunity of plundering and destroying passengers; therefore when there is any occasion to travel on those banks, which should be avoided as much as possible, an advanced guard of at least four COSSACKS is of great use; especially to patrol in the night; it is not often practised but I found it indispensably necessary when I travelled on those banks, as I shall have occasion to relate.

A hundred carriages take up two thirds of a mile in length, so that when no horseman is at hand to spread the alarm, the rear might be easily carried off. They have not even a trumpet, horn, or other instrument for this purpose; they trust in providence and think any care of this kind unnecessary, though the neglect has sometimes proved of fatal consequence.

By the time the caravans, which set out in the winter, usually arrive at ZARITZEN, the VOLGA becomes very dangerous; for which reason goods

<sup>b</sup> 47 miles ENGLISH.

are housed there till the waters are open. From ASTRACHAN they seldom venture to travel on the ice after January. It must be observed, that to save the shipping season, either on the BALTIC or the CASPIAN sea, it is sometimes necessary to make loads only of 15 poods for a single horse, but the hire of the horses is then estimated near the same, as if it was 25 poods. Another way, which I experienced, is to hire double horses to 25 poods, which saves many days, and was the cause that my caravan got safe into PERSIA, when another, which set out a week sooner from St. PETERSBURG, wintered in ASTRACHAN.

It is necessary to send previous advice to ZARITZEN, that a vessel may be provided by the time you arrive there. Those vessels which carry 3000 poods<sup>c</sup>, are as large as is consistent with safety and dispatch to go down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN. They cost from 60 to 100 rubles<sup>d</sup>, and, considering how ill they are put together, sometimes prove very dear. They require 15 or 20 hands to navigate them, of which half ought to be soldiers, in order to serve as a convoy against robbers, of which I shall have occasion to speak more at large.

I have been the more minute in this relation; as my intention is to preserve a remembrance of the manner in which this branch of commerce was conducted.

<sup>c</sup> About 45 tons.

<sup>d</sup> 12 to 181.

## C H A P. XIV.

*A description of TWERE, and of the great road made by the command of PETER the GREAT from St. PETERSBURG to MOSCO. The author arrives at MOSCO. A short description of that city.*

**T**O return to TWERE. It is a very antient city, but of no beauty; the largest and best structure was then building for the use of the civil officers of the government. This place stands on both sides of the TWERSA, which runs into, or is rather a branch of the great river VOLGA. Another large branch of that river runs about south west to VOLODIMEROFF, and from thence northwardly for many miles, terminating in a little lake; so that in this place, as well as in many others, the VOLGA seems to be a rich mine of gold to the RUSSIAN empire.

TWERE is a great rendezvous for merchants who trade to the towns on the banks of the VOLGA; in the ordinary course of the year, here is not a depth of 20 inches water; yet in the months of April and May this river receives such vast floods from the melting of the snow, as raises the water to 10 or 11 feet. Large flat bottomed vessels of 200 tons take this opportunity of passing to and from ASTRACHAN, and other places; the trade to PERSIA being sometimes carried on by the same channel. They bring here great quantities of rock salt, caviare and fish; and carry back bale goods, corn, meal, and all kinds of groceries, performing the voyage in 16 or 20 days.

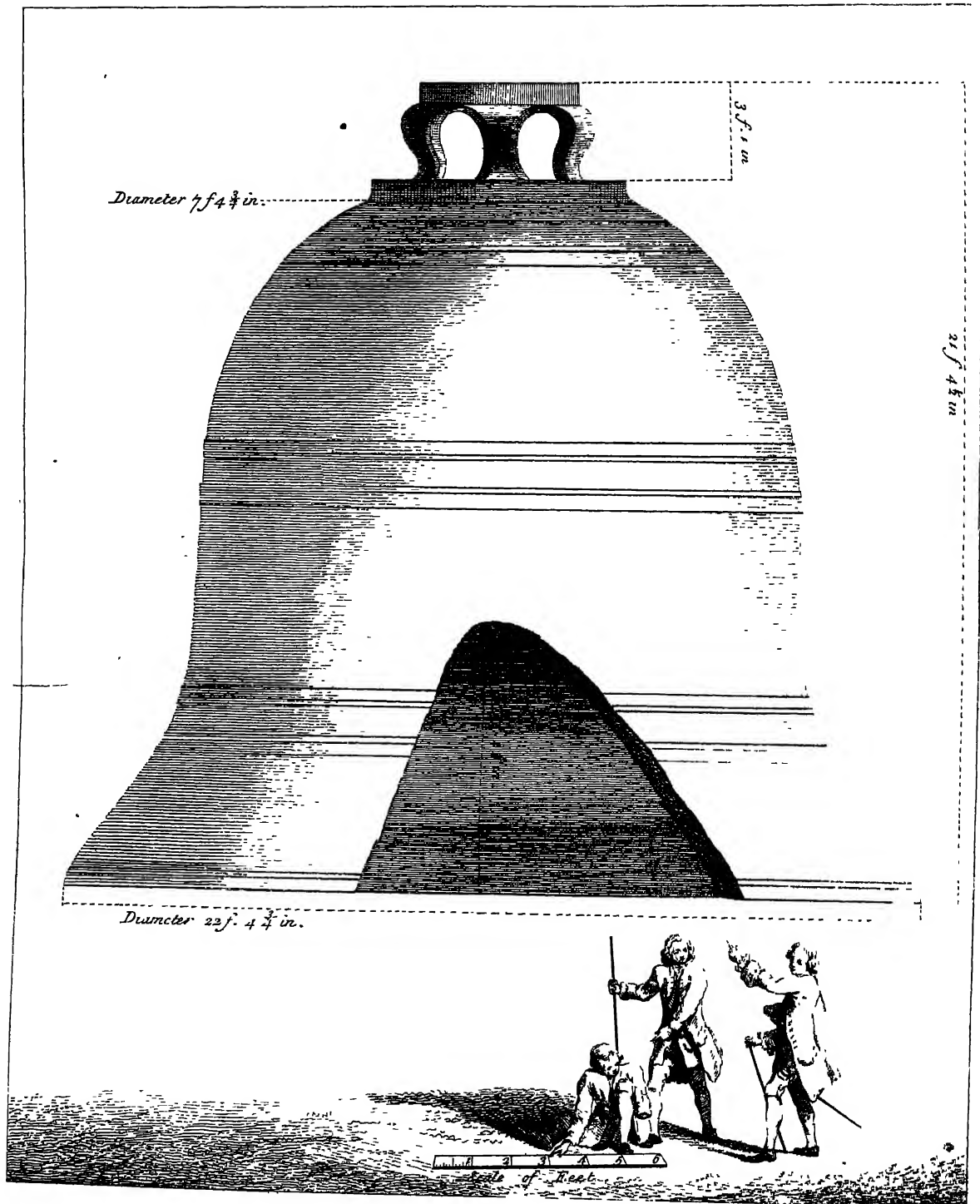
The 19th we arrived at KLIN, which is a very agreeable place, near a small branch of the river KLIASMA. Passing through PIESKIE, KLUSENSO, PETROWSKOI, and other small villages, we travelled 84 wersts, and the next day we arrived at MOSCO, the metropolis of the RUSSIAN empire.

Among other great works of that immortal prince PETER I. he caused a road to be cut from St. PETERSBURG, intending to make the whole distance of 734 wersts<sup>e</sup> in a direct line and perspective, but it is not entirely completed, nor is the part performed, exactly on the original plan. Vast forests of firs, birch, and other trees, were cut through, and a passage made over morasses, which till then was thought impossible to be accomplished. Immense quantities of timber were hewn down, ditches were made, and the earth thrown up and levelled, upon which strait firs, their surfaces being first made plain, were laid close to each other; these are supported by a foundation of the same kind of timber, and the ends in the center, for it is composed of two trees, and on both sides, are secured by cross timbers. This bridge or road of timber, is carried, according as the land requires it, for about 150 wersts. Formerly the timber way was much longer, but as the lands grow drier, it becomes the more unnecessary. Even for this extent of 150 wersts, allowing one tree with another to be 9 inches diameter, and the length 23 feet<sup>f</sup>, and supposing the foundation and sides to be only half so many more as the bridge is composed of, and the road to be 46 feet wide, here is an expence of 2,100,000 trees. But besides these, there are on the sides of the road, great quantities of timber cut down, which had never been used.

On my arrival I was received with great hospitality by Mr. JOHN TAMESZ, who by his skill and industry as a merchant and manufacturer, has acquired a great reputation. His fabric appeared as a little town, having about 400 looms, which employs more than 1000 hands in making sail-cloth, sheetings, raven ducks and drillings.

Mosco is in the latitude of 55, 40, and is built in some measure after the eastern manner, having not many regular streets, but a great number of houses with gardens. Its circumference is about 16 ENGLISH

<sup>e</sup> 487 miles ENGLISH. <sup>f</sup> They are from six to twelve inches diameter, being of different sizes, and in length twenty to twenty five feet. The road is the length of two trees broad.



*The Great Bell at Mosco.*

miles. The river MOSKWA, which runs through it, and joins the OCCA near KOLUMNA, makes many windings, which add a very striking beauty to the city; but in the summer it is in several places shallow and unnavigable. The several eminences, groves of trees, gardens and lawns interspersed, form the most pleasing prospects, and enliven the imagination. The frequent dreadful fires with which this city has been afflicted<sup>e</sup>, have hardly left houses to accommodate the empress's retinue<sup>h</sup> without distressing her people; insomuch, that this princess has been prevented from taking that delight in it which the situation of the place affords. Besides, here are no palaces comparable to those of St. PETERSBURG, PETERHOFF and CZARSKOIZELO, the imperial palace in this city, being remarkable for scarce any thing else than its having thirty chapels, and a very lofty hanging garden: In many parts it appears rather like a prison than a royal palace. The number of churches and chapels in MOSCO, is hardly within belief: they are estimated above 1800, but many of them are very mean: most of the paintings were done when this art was in its infancy.

The most remarkable thing I saw, is the great bell, which is indeed stupendous, and surprizes equally on account of its size, and the folly of those who caused it to be made: but the RUSSIANS, for time immemorial have had a strange ambition of this kind. The bell in question weighing near 12327 poods<sup>i</sup>, was cast in the reign of the late empress ANN: the sound of it rather amazed and deafened, than delighted the inhabitants. It cost a very great sum; for every one ambitious to contribute towards it, threw some gold or silver into the furnaces, which were four in number; these furnaces had cocks, which let off the metal into the mould. The geometrical dimensions are as in the plate annexed. This bell was now in a pit, over which it had been hung; but the beam which supported it being burnt, on occasion of a great fire, it gave way and the fall made a breach in it as expressed.

<sup>e</sup> The account of the fire in May 1752 is immense, they mention 13000 houses, which is hardly credible.

<sup>h</sup> The removal of the court to MOSCO occasions such a conflux of people, that I have been assured no less than 80,000 passports for MOSCO have been delivered in St. PETERSBURG in the space of a few months. <sup>i</sup> 443,772 lb. ENGLISH value at 3 s. is 65,681 l.

The waters of the MOSKWA are not esteemed. In some seasons agues are predominant in this city, but in general the climate is good. Being in the heart of the empire it is the grand residence of that part of the nobility which is not obliged to follow the court; and it is particularly inhabited by the chief merchants and manufacturers. This city having for many ages frequently suffered by dreadful fires, which have swept away several thousand houses at a time, it would be amazing that they should still continue to build with wood, were it not that the cheapness of this kind of building, and the poverty of many of the inhabitants render it necessary. By a late decree of the RUSSIAN senate, the wood houses are limited to certain quarters of the city; in all other places they are ordered to be re-built with brick and stone<sup>1</sup>. It is the custom in RUSSIA to build very fast, and without proper attention to the quality of the materials. Mosco has been more than once ravaged by the TARTARS and POLES; it yet shows many antient works of defence, but the present pacific state of this country renders the fortifications less an object of regard.

Before we leave MOSCO, it is necessary to observe that there remain many traces of the antient RUSSIAN customs, which are hardly to be seen in St. PETERSBURG, this last city being in some degree considered as another country: those who have a superstitious reverence for antiquity, look on it also with jealousy mixed with contempt, as being more modern than MOSCO. The RUSSIANS in general preserve a great share of the simplicity of their forefathers; they chuse the appellations of father and mother, as expressions of respect, as well as real affinity. Modern refinements which in some countries have rendered it unpolite for a son to call his father by that endearing name, is little known among them. In the politest correspondences of friendship or acquaintance, a man's christian name with that of his father's, as JOHN

<sup>1</sup> Mosco is said to have suffered, within these 20 years, the loss of above 30,000 houses. It is remarkable, that the fire which happened in 1752, in two hours time was carried to the extent of two ENGLISH miles.

the son of THOMAS, without any other addition, is deemed the most respectful address. My caravan being at length arrived, I gave the necessary directions, and hastened its departure.

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## C H A P. XV.

*The author leaves MOSCO and pursues his journey; he enters TARTARY, describes the manners of the COSSACKS, and arrives at ZARITZEN on the banks of the VOLGA.*

THE 24th of September, having repaired our vehicles, and provided such provisions as were thought necessary, we left MOSCO, at which time the weather was become more soft and pleasant. We travelled southward to STRELKOWA, NEIKITSKOI, BORISOWSKOI, and other small villages, not far from the western banks of the OCCA. The country is hilly, but abounding in arable lands, and adorned with a beautiful variety of groves. Here we met some SWEDISH prisoners returning to their own country.

The 25th at night we arrived at KOLUMNA, 80 wersts from MOSCO. This is one of the cities of the best appearance in this part of the world, having many stone and brick buildings, and a good wall: it has also several turrets of a very irregular figure, yet being covered with gilded tin, they make a good appearance. After passing the OCCA, I found the country very pleasant; their horses were now feeding on the rye just sprouting from the earth.

The 26th, being advanced to PERISLAWL RJAZANSKOI, I found myself in another climate, for the harvest was not yet gathered in. The roads are for the most part very good; the country has not much wood, but is delightfully

fully watered. The poverty of the people is great, as appears by the houses of the peasants, which are covered with straw, in a manner that declares their ignorance even of thatching. Their language and dress had some remarkable difference from those of the more northern RUSSIANS. I was surprized to behold so fine a country, at the small distance of 200 wersts from the metropolis, with such an appearance of indigence: but some lords are such bad œconomists, that they defeat their own end, by not only refusing to assist their vassals, but in a great measure obstructing their industry, thro' a rapacious impatience of gain, before the peasants feel the sweets of their labour, a conduct which is naturally productive of indolence.

The 27th, the weather and the road continued extremely pleasant. Being informed that a gang of 60 robbers had the same day we passed the OCCA, committed several robberies on that river and its banks, we were solicitous to get forward as much as possible out of their reach.

The 28th, Rain coming on, obstructed our way so much that we could not travel above half so fast as in dry weather. We were now in an open fertile country, but the people so poor that many of their *WESBES*<sup>k</sup> consisted only of one room, about five or six yards square, which is often destined to contain six or eight people of both sexes. The inhabitants, who are not numerous in these parts, are not very reserved with regard to the ordinary consequences of such cohabitations.

The 29th, having travelled 300 wersts from KOLUMNA, we arrived at KOSLOVE. This city has a wall of earth, and some wooden turrets, which served as a defence against the invasions of the TARTARS in former times. It stands on a little branch of the river VORONITZ, called LESNOI VORONITZ. Here we paid only half a copeek<sup>l</sup> a werst for each horse.

<sup>k</sup> Cottages so called.

<sup>l</sup> A farthing.

The 30th, we travelled 70 wersts farther, to the city of TAMBOVE, which is a mean place. Here they demanded one copeck a werst for each horse; the peasants complained of the exactions of the officers and soldiers who had lately marched that way for ASTRACHAN and the PERSIAN frontiers.

October the 1st, we entered the STEP. The inhabitants who are nearest to it often manure some tracts of land, by burning the grass, which grows to a great length. In places which are not burnt, provender is found even in the winter season; for by scraping away the snow, the cattle feed on the half perished grass. We overtook a caravan of 40 loads of EUROPEAN goods, going to ZARITZEN, the property of ARMENIAN merchants. The 2d, we arrived at NOVOCHOPERSKAJA, the proper boundary of RUSSIA, on the river CHOPER, which falls into the DON. This place is the RUSSIAN frontier towards the DON COSSACKS; it is fortified with palisades, a dry moat, and a rampart on which some small pieces of artillery are mounted: it is almost surrounded by a pleasant grove of oaks; the adjacent country is very delightful, and the roads exceeding good. The 3d, we travelled most part of the night on the banks of the CHOPER, where there are several mills for corn; the country is very thin of inhabitants, and those only on the western banks. Leaving MICHAÏLOVE, we passed through GOROZANSK and KHOTOSKAJA, two COSSACK towns, and arrived the next day at URJUPIN, a COSSACK village, 100 wersts from NOVOCHOPERSKAJA. Here I found the people very clean, and well clothed: the women are gay and comely; their heads are adorned with a cap, rising from their forehead about eight inches, with two points in form of a crescent, and their shifts are ornamented with a red cross. Unmarried women wear their hair plated behind after the RUSSIAN manner.

The COSSACKS are a species of TARTARS: their name signifies freebooters; but in these parts they are civilized, and faithful to the RUSSIAN government, which by an excellent policy is indulgent to them; so that

they are ready when called on, to attend the RUSSIAN army, and bring with them usually each man two horses. Upon these occasions they are well cloathed, and accoutred at their own expence. They receive no pay, except in time of war, when they are actually employed, and then only fix rubles a year, with provision and plunder; yet being exempt from taxes, they have no provocation to forsake their masters. They are a very gallant as well as sober people, and some of them are said to possess 1000 sheep, and 300 cows.

We saw little more for three days than land and sky, except some woods and mountains to the eastward, which gave pleasure in proportion to the absence of other objects. There are prodigious flights of blue pigeons; of which we killed as many as we could consume. The post huts on the STEP could not always supply us with a sufficient number of horses, so that where any inhabitants could be found within fix or eight miles from the road, we were more than once obliged to send out for them. Passing the CHOPER and the DON, we advanced, in five days and nights, near 500<sup>m</sup> wersts from URJUPIN, having met with very few inhabitants. At length we arrived at GRIGORISKOI, which forms a kind of peninsula. Here they take a great quantity of crawfish, especially in spring, at which time the flesh is most esteemed: when they are pounded and mixed with water, the eyes sink to the bottom. Quantities of these eyes are sent into TURKEY, and other countries, being well known to be used in medicines. Their houses, or rather huts, are built of oak plank; but so little provident are they of timber, that the bench I sat upon was hewn with an ax, and near three inches thick. Fish and fowl of all kinds are in great plenty. They marry very young; I had some discourse with a boy of fifteen, who was engaged to a girl of the same age.

The 9th. This morning we arrived under the lines which are thrown up from the DON<sup>n</sup> to the VOLGA, for the distance of about 50 wersts. The ditch is near sixteen feet deep, but not made entirely square. There

<sup>m</sup> 354 miles.

<sup>n</sup> Antient TANAIIS.

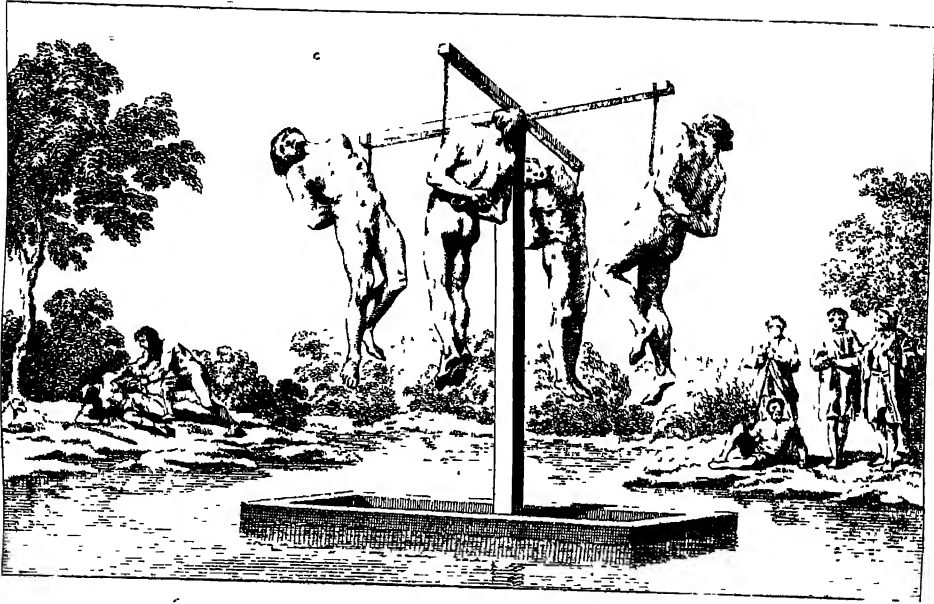
is a bank of earth near twenty feet high, with a strong timber rail towards the top. Sentry boxes are placed at certain distances, from which the guard can communicate an alarm to the chief garrison, ZARITZEN, which terminates the line on the western banks of the VOLGA. On this spot PETER the GREAT intended to join the DON and the VOLGA, and the canal was actually begun for that purpose. By this means a communication would have been opened with TURKEY, and the CZAR might have attacked that empire with ships built on the VOLGA, where the materials are in great abundance: but this undertaking proved very difficult from the hardness of the soil. Besides, as it was found practicable to build ships on the DON, this and other weighty reasons prevented the execution of this design.

The KOOBAN TARTARS were some years ago very formidable in this part of the world. The river KUMA<sup>o</sup> which disembogues itself into the CASPIAN, now serves as a barrier to these people, who are kept in awe by the RUSSIANS. Not long since, they made incursions, and carried off the inhabitants of whole villages, with all their cattle; but they dare not make their appearance at present, except in small parties, who sometimes break through the lines and carry off horses, which is their grand allurements, as they serve for food as well as for ordinary uses.

Though the incursions of the TARTARS were generally mentioned as a trivial matter with regard to our new trade; yet the KHALMUCKS, a little before my arrival, had the boldness to rob a caravan, in which was a sum of copper money, belonging to the crown, intended for the garrison of ZARITZEN: they also killed and wounded several soldiers who guarded it.

The sun was yet warm, and the weather delightful. On the plains, near ZARITZEN, they feed dromedaries, which are not much unlike camels.

<sup>o</sup> The KAMA, with which this is sometimes confounded, runs into the VOLGA, near CASAN.



## C H A P. XVI.

*Remarks on the KHALMUCK TARTARS. A particular account of the pirates who infest the VOLGA. The nature of the vessels which navigate that river. The author's voyage down to ASTRACHAN.*

**Z**ARITZEN is situated in the latitude of  $47\frac{1}{2}$ , at the distance of 1042 wersts <sup>p</sup> from MOSCO, on a high bank of the VOLGA, of which it commands a delightful prospect. The buildings are mean, nor are there many inhabitants: the place is defended by a deep ditch, a rampart garnished with artillery, and a garrison of 3000 men.

In a deep valley, under the south side of this place, is an encampment of KHALMUCK TARTARS, who are in friendship with the RUSSIANS so long as they awe them by their power; for these barbarians do not keep

<sup>p</sup> 688 miles.

their

their faith more inviolably than some politer nations. The KHALMUCKS have the same form of visage as the CHINESE, but more fierce and savage. These are dispersed tribes of those MUNGALIANS whom the CHINESE long since received as their conquerors. They are armed with bows and arrows, and feed on the flesh of horses, camels, dromedaries, and other animals, and eat the entrails of them, even when the beast dies of the foulest distemper. They throw their dead into open fields, to be devoured by dogs; of which many run wild, and some are kept for this purpose. If their bodies are thus devoured by any number exceeding six, they think honourably of the state of the deceased; otherwise he is a disgrace to his relations. I could not learn that they have any persuasion of the immortality of the soul; for the honour derived from the number of dogs which devour the body, rather seems to regard the reputation of the dead amongst the living, than any opinion concerning the happy or miserable state of the soul of the deceased.

They worship images, which generally consist of a small bit of wood about a palm in length; the upper part of it being rounded, is adorned with some rude marks to resemble human features; the figure being thus prepared is dressed up with a few rags. It is horrid to the imagination, that any creature bearing the form of human nature, should be sunk into such blindness, as to pay divine honours to so base a representation; though the difference of this and any other image-worship does not seem to be very great: their supreme deity is the DELLI LAMA. In fine weather and prosperous seasons, they caress these ragged deities, but treat them very ill when the contrary happens<sup>a</sup>: and here it ought to be remarked, that the eye observes the externals of a religion, but to arrive at men's hearts is no vulgar task, especially where the ignorance of barbarous languages obstructs all familiar correspondency. The many violences committed by these barbarians, at length induced the RUSSIAN government to compel them to take up their habitations on the banks of

<sup>a</sup> I have been well informed, that the PORTUGUESE seamen often give St. ANTHONY the lash, when the winds are cross to them.

the VOLGA, below ASTRACHAN, where they have a less field for robbery and murder, though here also they transgress, as I shall have occasion to relate.

Having letters of recommendation to KALZOFF, the commandant of ZARITZEN, I was kindly received; but upon such occasions it is necessary to present some FRENCH brandy, sugar, or the like, as an earnest for protection. Colonel BEAUSOBRE, and another FRENCHMAN, who was an officer in the RUSSIAN service, made acquaintance with me, and were extremely polite and obliging. News was just then arrived, that the inspector of the customs, attended by four soldiers, in coming from ASTRACHAN, had been murdered by the KHALMUCKS: these FRENCH officers however assured me I might go down the VOLGA without danger, because the TARTARS of every denomination were kept in subjection to the RUSSIAN government; and that the murder of the inspector and his men, was a consequence of their rashness in attempting to steal some of the KHALMUCKS children. I told them, that I was the more amazed at such an enterprize, as children two or three years old, had been offered me by the KHALMUCKS for two rubles a head.

The colonel hearing that I was going to PERSIA, spoke much of NADIR SHAH, who had given great alarms on that side, when he was last winter in the neighbourhood of DERBEND; inasmuch that a body of 18,000 RUSSIANS had been ordered to ASTRACHAN and KIZLAR. He observed further, that the cold was then so intense, that on some days 80 men died, many for want of brandy, and many for drinking too much, but the greater part by the unavoidable consequences of a laborious march in so rigid a season.

I now employed myself in procuring a proper vessel to convey my caravan to ASTRACHAN, and had the good fortune to find one which was just arrived with 400 bags of flower. The best proof that she could bear a burthen, was that of seeing her loaded. This however gave me no great satisfaction, for I was extremely shocked to see on what flight

slight embarcations my friends were obliged to trust their valuable effects, in the navigation of a river full of shelves and trees, which accidentally falling into the water, sink, and become as dangerous as rocks, an experience which we had that very summer made by a rich cargo of silk that was much damaged, and in imminent danger of being intirely lost. The reader will imagine that 40 rubles<sup>r</sup> cannot purchase a good vessel; however this price procured the best I could find. Their decks are only loose pieces of the bark of trees; they have no knees, and but few beams: hardly any pitch or tar is used; in place of it are long slips of bark, which they nail over the gaping seams, to prevent the loose and bad corking from falling out. Instead of iron bolts, they have spikes of deal with round heads. The method of keeping them clear of water, is by a large scoop which is suspended by the beam over the well-way, and through a scuttle at a proper height they scoop out the water with great facility. Notwithstanding these vessels appeared as so many wrecks, the trade carried on by means of them is very considerable. The ARMENIANS sometimes load goods on large barks of 2 or 300 tons, at the rate of 50 copeeks per bale.

After giving the necessary instructions with regard to the convoy of my caravan, we prepared for our own voyage down the VOLGA; for this purpose we bought two boats, to be navigated each by five BOURLACKS<sup>r</sup> and my own attendants, with an addition of six soldiers as a convoy. Tho' I had received such assurances of safety, prudence suggested to me that we could not gain, but might lose considerably by too much confidence; and experience confirmed this to me.

It was here I had first an opportunity of hearing the history of the VOLGA and CASPIAN pirates, particularly of those who commit murders and robberies on this great river. According to the fundamental law of the government in RUSSIA, the people are in a state of vassalage, and one man can call another his property by virtue of his purchase, or by a right

<sup>r</sup> Eight pounds.

<sup>r</sup> Watermen so called.

of inheritance. According to this law, no VASSAL can leave the lands of his lord without permission given, and signified by a passport, the term of which seldom extends above a year or two. When the time is expired, the vassal must return home, no matter how far off, or how great his poverty, to renew his passport and receive his lord's commands, unless by any particular indulgence, he can obtain a renewal of it by writing to his friends. These passports are generally registered in the towns or villages where the vassal resides, and great care is taken by the POLICE to see this executed: by this means, and likewise by making it necessary to take passports before they quit the place, the POLICE knows the condition and number of the inhabitants. A register is made also of foreigners residing in every place in the empire, who are obliged to make a report of themselves and their domestics. Hence it comes that there is no country in the world of such vast extent, where thieves and murderers can be more easily discovered, and where they are more frequently apprehended.

Among vast numbers of common people, it is not to be imagined, but by accident or wilful neglect, some of them will violate the law with regard to their passports; and being thus rendered obnoxious to punishment, the worst of them grow desperate; and though the numbers of such persons was much greater in less civilized times than the present, yet many to this day turn robbers by land and water, choosing the great rivers near vast tracts of uninhabited countries, where upon occasion they can the more easily escape. The severities of the masters of fisheries near the mouths of the YAEIK and VOLGA, also tempt their vassals to turn pirates; whenever they are warmly pursued, or distressed for a support, they run their vessels ashore, turn mahommedans, and put themselves under the protection of the PERSIANS. These robbers often go in gangs of 30, 40, and sometimes 80 persons, in row-boats which carry from 20 to 30 hands: they equip themselves with fire-arms, and their general practice is to board immediately; but where a fierce resistance is apprehended, they seldom attack.

The ARMENIAN merchants formerly sent their goods from ARCHANGEL to SARATOFF, and when the scene of trade was changed from ARCHANGEL to St. PETERSBURG, they went from thence either to TWERE or SARATOFF, according to the season of the year, and there embarked on the VOLGA, this being a more easy and cheap conveyance; but the frequency of robberies at length determined them to convey their caravans to ZARITZEN, as making so much the shorter tract down the VOLGA. Few of the RUSSIAN merchants transport any cargo of value down this river without a convoy. These robbers appear mostly in the spring, when the banks of the VOLGA being overflowed, they have a greater field, and can the more easily escape a pursuit. The soldiers who are occasionally sent after them, are ordered to take them alive, from an apprehension that a latitude to kill might subject the innocent to great inconveniencies, through a mistake which a strong temptation to plunder would sometimes create in a soldier's breast.

The ARMENIANS are generally intrepid, and fight bravely in defence of their property; but the BOURLACKS who navigate the VOLGA are so extremely intimidated by these robbers, that as soon as they appear, they generally behave like men struck with a panic, and even ascribe to them an irresistible power, derived from an infernal spirit. Formerly their custom in these cases was to fall on their faces, as soon as required by the robbers, and suffer them to plunder at pleasure, not daring to look up, lest it should cost them their lives. The master of the vessel, or the merchant, being thus at their mercy, is happy if he escapes with his life; for these robbers have seldom any sentiments of humanity to a man of a superior rank; but if he attempts to defend himself in hopes of bringing his people to the charge, he may be sure, if conquered, of being barbarously murdered. The same conduct which these pirates observe on the VOLGA, they have been accustomed to also on the CASPIAN sea, but much less of late years than formerly.

As their cruelties are very great, so is the punishment inflicted on them when they are taken. A float is built, in size according to the number

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of the delinquents, and a gallows erected on it, to contain a sufficient number of iron hooks, on which they are hung alive by the ribs. The float is launched into the stream, with labels over their heads signifying their crimes; and orders are given to all towns and villages on the borders of the river, upon pain of death, not only to afford no relief to any of these wretches, but to push off the float, should it land near them. Sometimes their partners in wickedness meet them, and, if there are any signs of life, take them down, otherwise they shoot them dead; but if they are caught in these acts of illegal mercy, they are hung up without the ceremony of a trial, as happened about eight years ago. They tell of one of these miscreants, who had the fortune to disengage himself from the hook, and though naked, and trembling with pain and loss of blood, he got ashore. The first object he saw who could afford him any relief, was a poor shepherd, whose brains he beat out with a stone, and then took his cloaths. These malefactors sometimes hang thus three, four, and some five days alive. The pain generally produces a raving fever, in which they utter the most horrid imprecations, and implore the relief of water, or other small liquors.

It is time now to resume my narrative. The 14th of October, I sent letters to my friends, by messengers who are appointed to attend a box of grapes, which is sent from ASTRACHAN to the EMPRESS'S court every three days during the season. It is carried by two horses, supported in the manner of a litter. The grapes are preserved in sand, but at best are ill worth the expence of the conveyance for 1200 ENGLISH miles.

Having given all necessary orders for the speedy conveyance of my caravan, as soon as it should arrive at ZARITZEN, I took my leave of colonel BEAUSOBRE, and my other new acquaintance. The colonel told me, that I must expect to find PERSIA more than half ruined by civil war, and that he was glad NADIR was at such a distance from RUSSIA, as to create no alarm on this side of the country.

The wind being at north east, we put off the shore; the stern part of my boat was covered with matts, so that I could sleep in it protected from the weather, which now began to be very cold. I took a part of the soldiers with me, that if by any accident our convoy should be separated from us, we might have some assistance. I was surprized to see the banks of the river marked near 20 feet above the water, but the boatmen assured me, that the water rose in the spring to that height. The wind blowing hard, we were obliged to bring to, running behind a little island, of which the river in many places forms a great variety.

The 15th, I saw several large water birds, much bigger than swans, which they resemble in their feet and beaks; the RUSSIANS call them DIKA BABA †. They have a very large craw, where they receive a great quantity of food, even a whole fish of a considerable size. They fly, as I saw afterward on the CASPIAN, very near to each other, in the form of a semicircle, not far above the water; and having driven the fish together in a body into the shallows, they dart down upon them: this is their only food. The fat of this bird is used by the RUSSIANS as a cure for aches and bruises.

In the spring, the high waters of the VOLGA not only undermine its banks, but sweep away large trees, so that some creeks of the river had hardly any passage left. When they are open, it is more agreeable to pass through the small branches, than the great channel. As we had hitherto a contrary wind, by the 16th we advanced no farther than 50 wersts. We were now near NASOROWSKY, an island formed by this river. Not far from hence are to be seen the ruins of a large antient city. Our soldiers were fed luxuriously at the fisheries, for nothing more than thanks.

The weather was calm, and the current moderate; in many places are high banks, in others it is a flat shore, the breadth varying from

† Signifies wild old woman.

a mile to a quarter. Here they have a quantity of wild asparagus, and many eagles.

The 17th. Finding our convoy did not keep up with us, we stopped at CHERNOYARE. This is the first town from ZARITZEN, at the distance of 200 wersts, generally called midway to ASTRACHAN. It is defended by a ditch, with some cannon and chevaux de frize. They trade with the KHALMUCKS, KOOBANS, and other TARTARS, in a quarter distinct from the town. It is remarkable that this, as well as many other places on the VOLGA, suffered the fury of the flames about the same time, during the last war with the TURKS: not that their enemies need employ any secret incendiaries; the common people do this business effectually by their carelessness. About 1630, a rich caravan was set upon in the river at this place, by a body of 700 COSSACKS, who plundered and put all to the sword, the convoy having inadvertently gone so far down the stream as not to be able to return in time to save the caravan. From hence I learnt the great necessity of carrying part of my soldiers in the same boat with me, tho' I apprehended no such formidable enemy.

The 18th, though we were obliged to lay by in the night, we advanced 90 wersts: but it was not without danger of being drowned; for our boat had no keel, nor any running tackle, and our watermen were extremely unskillful, so that not being able to let the sail fly, it was a singular providence that a gust of wind had not set us swimming. As we proceeded further, several wrecks appeared on the banks of the river. Great flights of geese and swans were now on the wing, retiring from the approaching severities of this climate, to the warmer regions of PERSIA. It is said, that these birds lay their eggs in the sand on the banks of the VOLGA, and are hatched by the heat of the sun, which however I do not assert as a fact.

The 19th, we advanced near 90 wersts, where we found a house made under-ground; the walls were of wicker work, and the light came in from the top. Here was provided a bagnio for washing, which the RUSSIANS use almost as much as the MAHOMMEDANS. We found the

Chap. XVII. CAPTAIN WOODROOFE'S JOURNAL, &c. 109  
the place inhabited by some NAGAY and CIRCASSIAN TARTARS, who ply on the river with open post boats, of which there are a few regular stages for the convenience of the government. Here were also some settlements of the KHALMUCKS.

From ZARITZEN to ASTRACHAN very little wood appears on the banks of the VOLGA. In some parts of the western side, the country is hilly, but the soil in several places is rich. It is said that many FRENCH refugees who were obliged to abandon their country in the time of LEWIS XIV. made an offer to PETER the GREAT, to settle in this tract of land; but as they required a separate government, and privileges not consistent with the arbitrary power by which the the RUSSIAN empire is governed, he declined the offer, esteeming it very absurd in politics for a free state to be planted within an arbitrary monarchy, especially so near a vast tract of land, inhabited by a multitude of roving people, who, if conducted with art and design, might become very formidable<sup>u</sup>.

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## C H A P. XVII.

*Captain THOMAS WOODROOFE's journal from MOSCO to CASAN. He builds a ship at CASAN for the navigation of the CASPIAN; winters there, and sails 1000 ENGLISH miles down the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN.*

AS we are now arrived at ASTRACHAN by the common way, the reader perhaps will find some entertainment in being conducted hither by another rout less frequented, of which the following extract of captain WOODROOFE's journal will give some idea.

“NOVEMBER the 20th, 1740, we set out from MOSCO for CASAN, with nine horses and six servants, by an unfrequented road

<sup>u</sup> This case was reversed in the highlands of SCOTLAND, where before the year 1748, was an arbitrary government within a limited monarchy; an absurdity no less striking.

“ cross the country. The 24th, we arrived at VENDENSCO, which was  
 “ immediately abandoned by the male inhabitants, from an apprehension  
 “ that we were military officers. We were thus left to the kindness  
 “ of the women, who entertained us with bread, butter, fowls, &c. and  
 “ our horses with hay and corn, at the expence of 20 copeeks\*, so  
 “ extremely cheap were provisions. The next morning we set forward  
 “ towards COVERRO, another village on the banks of the CREEVOY, a  
 “ small river that runs into the VOLGA : here we found several large ves-  
 “ sels, and an appearance of trade.

“ Nov. the 29th. The snow being melted, and the country intirely  
 “ a swamp, we were obliged to wait for frosty weather. In the interim  
 “ a lieutenant, his wife and two daughters, with five soldiers, were  
 “ brought to this place in a very deplorable condition, having been  
 “ stript, plundered, and barbarously beaten by a gang of robbers. This  
 “ country abounds with partridges and white hares ; they have also a fowl  
 “ they call a TATARIN, much resembling a pheasant ; it is larger, but not  
 “ so beautiful, nor of so fine a flavour. In the neighbouring woods are  
 “ many bears and wolves of a great size, but not fierce, having wild hogs  
 “ and other animals in great abundance for their prey.

“ Dec. the 9th. The roads being now tolerably good, we proceeded  
 “ on our journey. The natives have cattle in abundance, and plenty of  
 “ butter, which they make by melting down the cream ; as to cheese, it  
 “ is not known to them. The 15th, we passed the river OCCA, but the  
 “ ice being very rotten, two of our horses with a load of canvas fell  
 “ through it. The 24th, we arrived among the CHUWASHIN tartars, the  
 “ poorest and most wretched of all mortals ; they are descended from  
 “ the KOOBANS and subject to RUSSIA, but now driven to the east-  
 “ ward. KOOBAN, in the RUSSIAN language signifies a wild hog ; which  
 “ name was given to these Tartars on account of their fierce and savage  
 “ nature, having cost IVAN WASSILOWITZ more trouble to subdue them,

\* Ten-pence.

“ than

“ than either the CRIM or NAGAY Tartars : they are loaden with a heavy  
 “ poll-tax both for themselves and cattle. We could not discover what  
 “ notions the CHUVASHINS have of religion, but observed when they dress  
 “ victuals, they stick part of it over their doors and windows ; and when  
 “ they kill an animal, which their poverty but seldom permits, their  
 “ priest takes out the fat, and after eating some of it and greasing him-  
 “ self, he smears over their place of worship, and the drofs or refuse he  
 “ burns: They generally subsist on dead animals, which they devour  
 “ greedily. The neighbouring TARTARS eat horse-flesh, and dress it  
 “ like that of any other animal.

“ Dec. the 27th. We arrived at CASAN, having been 58 days in travel-  
 “ ling 1300 wersts\*, occasioned by the badness of the roads. Captain  
 “ ELTON was already arrived at this place. Here is a considerable admi-  
 “ ralty-yard: they had then on the stocks five fly-boats of about 250  
 “ tons, five smacks of 180 tons, and five small damscoots† of about 25  
 “ tons, which were to be launched the ensuing spring, and might be  
 “ ready in case of any necessity‡ to employ them on the CASPIAN. The  
 “ master-builder having already received orders to build a ship for the  
 “ ENGLISH merchants, had therefore dispatched people into the woods  
 “ to cut timber.

“ CASAN is a city of great importance, both from its situation and pro-  
 “ ductions. It had formerly a considerable trade to KHIEVA, BOKHARA,  
 “ and other places in TARTARY, which is now lost; but the commerce  
 “ with PERSIA is yet continued. This place has several manufactures of  
 “ red RUSSIA leather, and sends large quantities of this commodi-  
 “ ty annually to St. PETERSBURG. The country abounds in oaks, the  
 “ bark of which they make into a kind of tar for curing hides, and they  
 “ are very strict in preventing its being carried away. As they have  
 “ plenty of cattle, they have consequently a considerable quantity of

\* 866 miles. † Vessels so called. ‡ NADIR SHAH at this time was apprehended as an enemy.

" tallow. The timber used for the RUSSIAN navy is cut down in the  
 " neighbourhood of this city; it is of an excellent quality, but they do  
 " not distinguish sufficiently the trees which are on the decay: they also  
 " cut the timber at the leaf as well as at the fall, and often suffer it to  
 " lay too long on the ground. They are generally two summers in con-  
 " veying it to St. PETERSBURG, which is done in low flat bottomed ves-  
 " sels, taking the advantage of the rising of the river to go up to  
 " TWERE, and from thence into the canal by the LADOGA lake. From  
 " TURKEY they bring wine and fruits to CASAN; and MOSCO supplies it  
 " with groceries and EUROPEAN commodities. Here are to be had the  
 " furs of SIBERIA and TARTARY, as also all kinds of iron work.

" The caravans which annually arrive here from CHINA, occasion  
 " a great plenty of tea. This is the greatest magazine in RUSSIA, except  
 " MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG for all kinds of merchandize. It is  
 " advantageously situated for the commerce of the south east parts, even  
 " to CHINA; the province itself reaching quite to SIBERIA. The TAR-  
 " TARS who live in great numbers in this neighbourhood, are clean and  
 " neat in their persons. Here are markets for horses, sheep, and all other  
 " kinds of cattle: provisions in general are very cheap, and great quan-  
 " tities are sent down to ASTRACHAN, and to all the towns and settle-  
 " ments on the VOLGA. CASAN is the metropolis of a kingdom, and for-  
 " merly was the seat of government. It was taken by IVAN WASSI-  
 " LOWITZ in 1552, from the TARTARS, with whom the RUSSIANS  
 " maintained a bloody war for some years.

" January the 15th, 1741. As a compliment to Mr. ELTON we laid the  
 " ship's keel, which was 65 feet in length, and fixed the stem and stern  
 " posts; after which he set out for St. PETERSBURG, to receive a confi-  
 " derable cargo of goods expected there by the first spring ships, and  
 " intended for the PERSIAN markets. He left the sole care of building  
 " the ship to me, but I had neither a boat-builder, rigger, or sail-maker.

" May

“ May the 30th, the ship was launched, though her upper-works were  
“ yet unfinished; for the waters fell away so fast that we were afraid of  
“ being aground, which was the reason of our transporting her three  
“ miles into the great VOLGA down the small river, upon which the ad-  
“ miralty yard stands. July the 10th, we stept our masts and bow-  
“ sprit, and set the rigging over head. During our abode in this place,  
“ six pirates were apprehended for robbing several RUSSIAN merchants  
“ on the VOLGA; and after they had been hung up by the ribs on a  
“ gallows erected on a floating stage, they were turned a drift as a spec-  
“ tacle of horror to deter others from the same evil practice.

“ October the 20th, Captain ELTON arrived in a bark with a consider-  
“ able cargo of BRITISH goods from St. PETERSBURG designed for GHI-  
“ LAN: but the season was so far advanced, that it would have been  
“ very dangerous to have proceeded on our voyage; so that the 27th we  
“ got the ship and bark into their birth ten wersts below CASAN, where  
“ we intended to winter; and the river was frozen up that night. In  
“ the interim captain GILBERT BLAIRE arrived at CASAN, intending to  
“ build another ENGLISH ship for the CASPIAN trade.

“ November the 10th, the ice broke up, and drove down the river  
“ with great violence, in some places at least 10 or 15 feet above the  
“ surface of the water. On the 15th it set fast again, and sledges passed  
“ over as usual. In this melancholy situation we waited the return of  
“ the spring: in the mean time we removed the cargo from the bark  
“ into the ship; and to prevent any surprize we kept a constant watch of  
“ two men on deck, myself and another person continuing in the cabin,  
“ while the rest of the crew were on shore.

“ April the 16th, 1742. We had weathered out the inclement season  
“ with as good spirits as could be expected in so bad a neighbourhood,  
“ where there was less to fear from the elements and wild beasts than  
“ from thieves and murderers: however, under the protection of heaven,  
“ we received no injury during five months confinement. There began

“ to be a flood in the VOLGA; when the water rising by the melting of  
 “ the snow, severed the ice from the banks, and breaking it to pieces,  
 “ drove it along with the current. Winter leaving us, we began to rig  
 “ and prepare for sea. On the 25th, the river was free of all obstruction,  
 “ when we received the news that her imperial majesty ELIZABETH PE-  
 “ TROWNA was to be crowned that day at MOSCO; on which occasion  
 “ we fired our guns, and giving liquor to the ship's company to drink the  
 “ health of the empress, we named the ship, ELIZABETH.

“ Advice was now brought us that four large pirate boats knowing  
 “ we had a valuable cargo, intended to attack us in going down the  
 “ river. The ship was well provided with arms and ammunition, hav-  
 “ ing six carriage guns of three pounders, with close quarters and eight  
 “ oars to command her in the stream. We had also a launch of ten tuns  
 “ with sixteen oars; a long-boat of five tuns, and a yawl, each with six  
 “ oars. The RUSSIANS expressed great admiration at our going down  
 “ under full sail, being a practice unusual: they represented the danger of  
 “ running aground, but their apprehensions did not intimidate us.

“ Nothing happened to disturb our voyage till the 29th, when, a lit-  
 “ tle before sun-set, three large boats, each of sixteen oars and full of  
 “ men, came out of the reeds 30 wersts below SIMBERSKIE. We im-  
 “ mediately cleared for a defence, and as soon as they were within call,  
 “ bid them keep at a distance; at the same time we discharged some mus-  
 “ kets wide of them. Finding them flight these menaces, we fired one  
 “ of our guns loaded with partridge-shot into the headmost, and saw  
 “ five or six men fall from their oars, who, as we afterwards learnt,  
 “ died of their wounds. The rest not liking such a salutation, retired  
 “ with great precipitation into a small creek in the reeds.

“ May the 2<sup>d</sup>, we proceeded without further molestation, and ar-  
 “ rived at ASTRACHAN, where we anchored opposite to the governor's  
 “ house, after a voyage of 1445 wersts<sup>a</sup> from CASAN to this place, which

<sup>a</sup> 963 miles.

“ we performed in 28 days. On the 28th, the governor, vice-governor, and commander of the garrison, came on board and congratulated Mr. ELTON on his safe arrival, assuring him that he had the honour of being the first<sup>b</sup> who had spread ENGLISH colours in that part of the world, and that this was the first ship that had ever sailed on the VOLGA perfectly equipped. After paying these compliments, they drank success to the BRITISH PERSIAN trade; and thanks were returned from the mouths of our cannon. The merchants employed themselves in viewing and measuring our ship, which they acknowledged to be the first complete one they had ever seen in that part of the world. The RUSSIAN government build hulls after the DUTCH manner fit for shoal water; but the work is so ill put together, that they do not last long.

“ PETER the GREAT had a considerable fleet of vessels on the CASPIAN, which are long since perished. The largest they had then, was of about 180 tons, of a circular form, which when loaded, they were obliged to frap with hausers, to prevent her falling to pieces. This, with several others, was built in the admiralty yard at CASAN. The merchants now float down timber to ASTRACHAN, where for want of a proper yard and mechanics, they build in the old RUSSIAN form, long flat bottomed vessels with square sails, and the top sails to hawl down upon the deck: with such ships, by the help of good ground-tackle, they navigate the CASPIAN. Their cordage is exceeding strong, as are likewise their anchors made in the antient form, notwithstanding they are very ill shaped. On the contrary, the modern ones made by the famous DEMEDOFFS in SIBERIA, the patentees of the iron-works, tho’ better proportioned are not so strong. Their canvas is chiefly made at YARISLAW and MOSCO, and is generally very good.

“ The RUSSIAN merchants and pilots were ready to give Mr. ELTON the best information they could in regard to the navigation of the CASPIAN;

<sup>b</sup> ENGLISH colours had been hoisted before, as I have related in the first chapter.

“ but as their skill extended little further than coasting, and a superficial  
 “ knowledge of the soundings along shore, he could reap but little ad-  
 “ vantage from their experience. They rather discouraged us by their  
 “ apprehensions of rocks and shoals, which they pretend are very thick  
 “ in different parts of this sea, but chiefly between APSHERON and BALK-  
 “ HAN. It might indeed be said that we were venturing into a sea very  
 “ little known, where commerce had never made any considerable pro-  
 “ gress; the natives of those inhospitable shores, except the RUSSIANS,  
 “ having hardly employed their imperfect navigation to any other pur-  
 “ pose than to surprize and plunder their unguarded neighbours. Thus  
 “ it was with the TARTARS and PERSIANS, till the RUSSIAN arms brought  
 “ the one into subjection, and awing the other, gained an entire jurif-  
 “ diction over this great mediterranean lake.”

The RUSSIANS had at this time put a stop to the navigation of the KHALMUCK TARTARS, by depriving them of all their large boats : and the TURKUMANS being out of the ordinary track to GHILAN, our navigation had nothing to fear. WOODROOFE's ship being laden, drew  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet water. All things being prepared for the voyage, they weighed for GHILAN, and getting down to CHETIRIE BOGORIE, cleared at the guardship, and discharged their Pilot. They had a RUSSIAN chart, made in the reign of PETER the GREAT, but for greater security, they kept a watch day and night at the mast-head, and hove the deep-set lead every half hour in the day, and quarter in the night. The long-boat and yawl were on the deck ; but the largest boat was towed a-stern, being raised with wash-boards for that purpose.”

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The reception the author met with from the governor of ASTRACHAN. Some account of that gentleman, and his intended history of RUSSIA. Fresh complaints of Mr. ELTON's being engaged in the PERSIAN service. The author presents a petition to the imperial chancery at ASTRACHAN.*

THUS far we have accompanied capt. WOODROOFE in his account ; it is now time to return to my own story. I was kindly received in ASTRACHAN by Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, agent to the BRITISH merchants trading to PERSIA ; and also by the governor, general WASSILIE NIKIETISH TATTISCHEFF, to whom I carried a valuable present on account of the merchants. I had much discourse with him, and he gave me many assurances that nothing on his part should be wanting to promote the interest of the merchants trading to PERSIA : he proposed to me some schemes in which he had regard to the interest both of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA. This old Man had been a page to PETER the GREAT, and having long commanded in those parts, was greatly instrumental in reducing the TARTARS : but his genius turned most to literature and commerce ; nor was he at all deficient in the arts of gain : on this last account he was already in some disgrace ; however he had one good maxim, which, as he observed to me, was to give, as well as take. He told me had bought for 5000 rubles, a diamond worth 12000, and had sent it to the greatest lady in the empire : he mentioned likewise that he had been about four and twenty years writing the history of RUSSIA. Upon his recall from ASTRACHAN two years afterwards, he sent me part of that history in manuscript, requesting me to procure a translation ; but this by no means suited my convenience. The letter he wrote to my partner and me on this occasion, runs as follows :

“ GEN-

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ **S**INCE I left ASTRACHAN, I have had no opportunity of writing to  
 “ you, altho’ I retain a constant remembrance of the affection and  
 “ regard which you have always shewn me.

“ You know I have been engaged for near thirty years in writing  
 “ a history of RUSSIA, which I am now about finishing, and hope it  
 “ will soon appear in print to the satisfaction of the learned world. This  
 “ history is the more to be esteemed by the curious part of mankind,  
 “ as none of the antient GREEK and ROMAN historians, nor any geo-  
 “ graphical accounts of this empire, have gone so far as to inform us  
 “ of the original dialect, &c. of the principal nations, viz. the SCLA-  
 “ VONIANS, SCYTHIANS, and SARMATIANS; nor of the AMAZONS,  
 “ VANDALS, GOTHs, and CIMMERIANS, who descended from them;  
 “ neither have we any perfect account remaining of the HUNNS and  
 “ AVARI. The great distance of places, and ignorance of the lan-  
 “ guages, have made it difficult to obtain a right information of them;  
 “ add to this, the GREEKS had so great a taste for fables, rather than  
 “ for a diligent search after truth, that they have rendered facts very  
 “ obscure, of which the foolish tale of the AMAZONS is a proof. Of  
 “ all these nations I have endeavoured as much as possible to give a  
 “ clear and particular account, which composes the first part of my his-  
 “ tory of RUSSIA.

“ The second, begins with RURIC, prince of the FINs, who invaded  
 “ this country, and founded the RUSSIAN empire, which continued from  
 “ the year 860 to the incursions of the TARTARS in 1238. This part  
 “ contains many things relating to the histories of other countries; as  
 “ affinities by marriage, alliances, wars and treaties between the RUS-  
 “ SIAN monarchs and other nations, particularly the NORWEGIANS,  
 “ SWEDES, HUNGARIANS, and both the western and eastern monarchies;  
 “ which in the histories of those countries are either entirely lost or  
 “ trans-

“ tranſmitted down in a very dark manner : I take no notice of natural  
“ hiſtory. Theſe two parts are entirely finiſhed.

“ Induced by the particular affection I have for the ENGLISH nation,  
“ and my veneration for your royal ſociety, on account of the great ad-  
“ vantages the world receives from their ſeveral learned works, and their  
“ encouragement of uſeful knowledge, I have thought proper, as a mark  
“ of reſpect, to dedicate my hiſtory to them : but I am at a loſs for want  
“ of tranſlators, and dare not venture to ſend it to ENGLAND in the ori-  
“ ginal, leſt the miſtaking of facts, through want of a perfect know-  
“ ledge of the RUSSIAN language, ſhould render the tranſlation defective.  
“ I have therefore thought it the beſt way, that you would pleaſe to re-  
“ commend me two good tranſlators in the GERMAN ; for as I underſtand  
“ that language, I can myſelf correct any miſtake that ſhall happen :  
“ and when this is done, it will not be a difficult matter to have it tranſ-  
“ lated into other languages.

“ I am, &c.

The governor made no ſecret of his work, and having brought it down  
no lower than PETER the GREAT, he could hardly have given offence ;  
however the envy of his parts among the literati, the reſentments of the  
pious for his infidelity, which I fear was great, and the clamours of the  
merchants for his rapaciouſneſs, occaſioned his being two years afterwards  
ſent into civil baniſhment to his own eſtate near MOSCO, where he ended  
his life. His works ſeem to have died with him, at leaſt they have not found  
a favourable reception at the academy of St. PETERSBURG. It is however  
probable, that the great pains he took in collecting ſeveral choice mate-  
rials, may be a means of ſome other perſon's building a reputation upon  
his labours. This old man was remarkable for his ſocratical look, his  
emaciated body, which he preſerved many years by great temperance, and  
for keeping his mind continually employed. When he was not writing,  
reading, or diſcourſing about buſineſs, he played at dice one hand a-  
gainſt the other.

He

He complained to me, that he feared our principal factor ELTON was really engaged in the service of NADIR SHAH, which might have very pernicious consequences, by drawing on us the resentment of his court; and he recommended to me, if it was not too late, to persuade him from so rash an enterprize. He then spoke of the ARMENIAN traders, who were our great opponents, observing, "that they are the most crafty people in all ASIA, and delight in fraud. Let them, continued he, get 50 per cent. in a fair way, they are not contented without cheating five, and the five is sweeter to them than the 50." Though this is in some measure true, part of it might be carried to the account of the old man's inability, crafty as he was, to get of them all he desired. The GOUBERNIE<sup>c</sup>, which is composed of a deputy governor, a secretary, and other officers, is a great check on the governor of this place; yet as ships can neither leave the port, nor be permitted to PRATTIC but by his permission, he has frequent opportunities of gain.

Not long since, the RUSSIANS made immense profits by selling provisions to the PERSIANS, when there was so great a scarcity that most of the inhabitants of DERBEND perished for want; a KOULE<sup>d</sup> of meal, which cost one ruble, being sold for twenty. NADIR SHAH upon this, gave notice to the merchants, that he should want a larger quantity, giving them tacitly to expect that he would not alter the price: they accordingly brought it, but he disappointed their expectations, by fixing a more moderate price, yet such as was very profitable to them. This is a prohibited trade, but so advantageous that it seems to be the interest of the government to connive at it. Upon the occasion of their being alarmed with NADIR SHAH's approaches, the merchants, as well as the governor, were called to an account, and probably obliged to purchase their peace with part of their gain.

I was several times with the governor, whose discourse ran continually on ELTON; the sum of it was, "that NADIR SHAH having conceived

<sup>c</sup> The government's chancery.

<sup>d</sup> A large bag so called.

“ an high opinion of this gentleman’s capacity, had made him presents,  
 “ and either engaged him for a salary to build ships for him, or re-  
 “ quired his assistance to superintend such an undertaking: that ELTON  
 “ had already met with great difficulties, the timber being knotty, and  
 “ the roads to the ship yard hardly passable. He observed moreover that  
 “ the PERSIANS were extremely ignorant of maritime affairs, and averse  
 “ to any employment of that nature, so that it would require much  
 “ time to bring them to maturity; but as such enterprizes were no way  
 “ relative to affairs of commerce, they could not but alarm the RUSS-  
 “ AN court.”

I replied to this effect, “ I am not insensible that such a design must be  
 “ offensive to RUSSIA, but I am a stranger to the nature of ELTON’s en-  
 “ gagements. If NADIR SHAH is determined to have ships, it cannot  
 “ depend upon ELTON or any single man. I know RUSSIA must natu-  
 “ rally be jealous of the PERSIANS, as the SWEDES about fifty years ago  
 “ were of the RUSSIANS, who, notwithstanding, are now become so  
 “ formidable in the BALTIC: but there is this essential difference; whilst  
 “ NADIR builds one ship on the coast of the CASPIAN, RUSSIA can build  
 “ ten of the same size on the VOLGA, and probably the ten will cost  
 “ no more than his one.” Indeed I had no opinion that the affair would  
 ever arrive to such a degree of perfection, as to affect so formidable a  
 power as RUSSIA; however I confess there was cause of jealousy. These  
 were my real sentiments, and I was moreover obliged to talk in this style,  
 for fear of giving offence; for Mr. ELTON had brought us into such cir-  
 cumstances, that it was hardly possible to avoid offending the EMPRESS or  
 the SHAH, if not both. I took occasion also to remind the governor, that  
 ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN consul and ELTON having been at variance, possibly  
 the affair might be misrepresented; but that in any case it ought not to  
 affect me, who was now charged to take care of the commercial interest,  
 and of that only. Upon this he desired me to deliver a memorial to the  
 same effect, by way of petition to the chancery.

It was not difficult to foresee the consequences of acquiescing to such an extraordinary demand; though of the two evils I thought it the greatest to refuse, as I must have been an object of jealousy, and perhaps actually prevented from proceeding on my voyage: accordingly I delivered the following petition into her imperial majesty's chancery.

" The petition of JONAS HANWAY BRITISH merchant,

" Sheweth,

" **T**HAT whereas reports have been spread, that one of the BRITISH subjects residing in RESHD, has been concerned in affairs ungrateful to the court of RUSSIA; your petitioner is now going into GHILAN to know the truth, and, if necessary, to use his endeavours to dissuade any such subject there engaged in trade, from voluntarily meddling with any other business; and to prevent as much as possible the BRITISH ships on the CASPIAN from being employed in any manner not consistent with the treaty of commerce\*; so that no just cause may be given to create the least obstruction of the BRITISH trade thro' the empire of RUSSIA.

" And as the season is very far advanced, your petitioner desires immediate dispatch may be given to the BRITISH ships as soon as they shall arrive, &c."

## C H A P. XIX.

*A description of ASTRACHAN, and of its fisheries and trade. An account of the neighbouring TARTARS, and of the flights of locusts with which that country is infested. Captain WOODROOFE arrives from PERSIA.*

**A**S I was obliged to wait some time for the arrival of captain WOODROOFE, in whose ship I intended to embark for PERSIA, I had

\* It must be observed however, that the treaty made no provision for those ships.

an opportunity of informing myself the more fully concerning ASTRACHAN and its neighbourhood.

This city is the metropolis of a kingdom of the same name, situated within the limits of ASIA in an island called DOLGOR, in the latitude of 47, 60 ENGLISH miles from the CASPIAN-sea; and derives its name from HADGEE TERKAN a TARTAR by whom it was founded. It was for many ages subject to the TARTARS, from whom it was taken by IVAN WASSILOWITZ CZAR of MUSCOVY in 1554, taken by them again in 1668, and again retaken by the RUSSIANS: the CZAR employed for this purpose a great number of flat bottomed vessels, on which he brought down his forces from CASAN. It contains about 70,000 inhabitants, among whom are many ARMENIANS and TARTARS of various denominations, with a few PERSIANS and INDIANS. The manners and customs of all these different people exhibit an epitome of ASIA. The city is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles round, but including the suburbs near five miles. It is surrounded by a brick wall in a ruinous condition, being about 200 years old. Here was a garrison of six regiments of the best RUSSIAN troops: and in the adjacent plain they had erected a great number of small batteries, which were intended to sweep the country, and to prevent the approach of an enemy, NADIR SHAH having lately given some alarm on this side.

The houses are of wood, and most of them very mean; the higher parts command a prospect of the VOLGA, which spreads itself here near three miles, giving pleasure and convenience to the inhabitants. In the summer the people are generally sickly, which is owing to the marshy lands near it. The earth being impregnated with salt, which appears on the surface, is extremely fertile, bearing fruit in abundance, the immoderate use of which creates many distempers among the common people. Their water-melons <sup>f</sup> are in great esteem; and in flavour, colour and taste much the same as in PORTUGAL. 'Tis remarkable, that this fruit, tho' extremely juicy, grows best in sand. But besides the above reason, the

<sup>f</sup> Which the RUSSIANS call ARBOOSE.

melting of the snow which creates floods, and the rising of the water also in autumn, are observed to affect the air and produce sicknesses.

The government of *ASTRACHAN* extends as far as *SARATOFF*. The city is surrounded by gardens and vineyards, which lie about two miles from it. These produce almost every kind of garden-stuff known in *ENGLAND*, except potatoes, collyflowers and artichokes; and their orchards furnish them with plenty of apples, pears, cherries, &c. *OLEARIUS* commends the fruits of *ASTRACHAN*, but I met with none extraordinary, except the water-melons; though the court find the grapes delicious enough to bear the great expence of land carriage, as already mentioned. The wine of *ASTRACHAN* is also very indifferent. As their summers are generally dry, they are obliged to water their gardens; this is done by large wheels, some of which are moved by horses, others by the wind. These wheels are of a sufficient height to throw the water into the highest part of the garden, from whence it runs in trenches to the root of every tree and plant. The gardens and vineyards are generally watered in this manner, from the middle of May to the middle of September. The chief game in the neighbouring country is hares and partridges; and in summer there is plenty of quails. Here are also water and wild fowl of all sorts in great abundance.

About ten miles below *ASTRACHAN* is a small island called *BOSMAKOFF*, remarkable for its large storehouses of salt, which is made about twelve miles to the eastward of it, and being brought thither in boats, is conveyed in large flat bottomed vessels up the *VOLGA*. With this all the country is supplied, as far as *MOSCO* and *TWERE*. They dig annually some millions of poods, the exclusive property of which is claimed by the crown, and brings in a considerable revenue<sup>s</sup>; for the common food of the soldiery, and of the bulk of the people, is bread and salt. In this place also are large fisheries, to which the neighbourhood of the salt

<sup>s</sup> In *ASTRACHAN* they sell the salt at three copecks a pood, but in *RUSSIA* at 15 to 18, viz. about a farthing a pound. The revenue of *ASTRACHAN* is reckoned 140 to 160,000 rubles, or 33,500*l.* of which the greatest part arises from salt and fish.

works is of great advantage. These extend even to the sea, reaching south eastward as far as YAEIK, and also 100 miles above ZARITZEN. From these fisheries all the country is supplied as far as St. PETERSBURG: the vessels are loaded with salt fish, and sent away in the spring; but as fresh fish keeps good so long as it is frozen, the winter is no sooner set in, than it is transported by land as far as MOSCO and St. PETERSBURG. The principal sorts are sturgeon, starlett, beluga<sup>s</sup>, and affotra<sup>h</sup>.

The first establisher of these fisheries was TIKON DEMEDOFF a carrier, who settled there about 50 years ago; his whole fortune then consisted in two horses, but through his industry and abilities he became the greatest merchant in that country. The crown, which before his time was a stranger to those advantages, has of late years, besides the salt, engrossed some of the fisheries also.

Captain WOODROOFE, who was for some time at ASTRACHAN, assured me, that from the latter end of July to the beginning of October, the country about that city is frequently infested with locusts, which fly in such prodigious numbers as to darken the air, and appear at a distance like a heavy cloud. The account which the inhabitants give of them is, that generally as the cold weather comes on, they are seen in their flight from the northward to the southward. Whenever they fall, they eat up every thing that is green. In this season therefore all the gardeners look out for them, and upon their first appearance endeavour to keep them off, by making as much smook and as great noise as possible; but in spite of all their art, these destructive insects, after flying as long as they are able, sometimes fall in their gardens, on the tops of houses, and even into the fires. Their bodies, compared with the smallness of their wings, are very large. Their size is generally from two to two and a half inches long, and about three quarters of an inch in diameter, and their shape near the same as the largest sort of green grasshopper. WOODROOFE mentions in his journal, that once in particular,

<sup>s</sup> A large white fish.

<sup>h</sup> It resembles sturgeon.

as he was sailing up the VOLGA to ASTRACHAN, he observed a prodigious cloud of them coming from the west north west, which is across the river. The wind at that time blew very fresh, and nearly from the same point; when the locusts falling down, the water was covered with such prodigious swarms of them, that in some places they greatly obstructed the motion of the boat for 10 or 12 fathoms together. He says also that they live for some time under water; for as they mounted on each other's backs, they formed a cluster near three feet diameter, which rolled along by the force of the wind and the rapidity of the current. In this manner they were driven ashore; their wings being dried, they got upon the pasture, and very few were drowned. They lay so thick upon the plain for near three days, to the extent of as many miles, that it was impossible to walk without treading on them. When they began to fly, they disappeared in less than half an hour, leaving the plain without a blade of grass.

The commerce of ASTRACHAN is very considerable, though much diminished by the troubles in PERSIA, and the frequent revolts and insolent behaviour of the TARTARS. Not long ago they traded to KHIEVA and BOKHARA, but at present their commerce is confined to the EMPRESS's dominions and PERSIA. The inhabitants had about 38 vessels, from 60 to 100 lasts<sup>1</sup> for the PERSIAN trade, of which some belong to the government and mount a few small pieces of cannon. They are commanded by a midshipman under a commodore who is generally only a lieutenant in rank, and these under the admiralty. This office is generally stocked with all naval stores, as well for the use of the vessels belonging to the EMPRESS, as to supply the merchants.

The trading ships carry provisions to the frontier towns of TERKIE and KISLAR, situated on the CASPIAN sea, and likewise merchandize to the several parts of PERSIA, at certain stated rates. They are also occasionally employed by the PERSIANS, to carry provisions from GHILAN to BAKU,

<sup>1</sup> OF TWO TUNS ENGLISH.

DERBEND, and other places; but the RUSSIAN government observing that their merchantships were employed in the transport of provisions towards their own frontier, for the use of the PERSIAN army, thought proper to take them into their service; and from that time they sent only a few vessels to PERSIA, under the authority of the imperial flag, that they might be privileged from any arrests or exactions on the part of the PERSIANS. But since NADIR's death, and the abandoning of the enterprize of building PERSIAN ships in the EUROPEAN manner, the RUSSIAN vessels have been again restored to the merchants.

Their foreign trade consists in red leather, linens, woollen cloths, and EUROPEAN manufactures, which they export to PERSIA, the greatest part for the account of the ARMENIANS; in return they import several manufactures of PERSIA, particularly those of CASHAN, as silk shawls intermixed with gold, for the consumption of the POLANDERS; wrought silks and stuffs mixed with cotton; rice, cotton, a small quantity of drugs, and especially raw silk. They also bring rhubarb <sup>k</sup>, but as the government has engrossed this article, private persons are forbid to deal in it under penalty of death. From KHIEVA they formerly brought gold, lamb-skins, cotton, and other commodities; but this trade is now discontinued, as I have already observed. The officers of the admiralty and custom-house of ASTRACHAN have very small salaries, which is the case in all other places of RUSSIA; so that instead of doing their duty to dispatch business, they often seek pretences to protract it, in order to obtain the more considerable presents. Upon these occasions, FRENCH brandy, white wine, hats, stockings, ribbons, and such like are acceptable.

Whilst I was busied in getting what informations were necessary, the governor invited me to a feast, at which there were near 100 dishes; here I saw a singular specimen of RUSSIAN intemperance, for there were above 30 people who drank to excess in goblets <sup>l</sup>, of a kind of

<sup>k</sup> The greatest part of this valuable branch is brought into RUSSIA by the TARTARS of YAKUTSKY, bordering on the eastern TARTARS belonging to CHINA: they travel through SIBERIA to SAMARA, thence to CASAN; and from thence to MOSCO.

<sup>l</sup> BOCALLS.

cherry brandy<sup>m</sup>. This feast was made for the birth of his grand-daughter, on which occasion the guests presented an offering, each according to his rank. This is a civil way of levying a heavy tax on the merchants, and a custom, tho' not elegant, less absurd than that of some politer countries; for here without disguise or ceremony you leave one or two ducats or some richer present on the lady's bed, who sits up with great formality to be saluted.

My curiosity carried me to see the devotion of the INDIAN PAGANS in the little temple which they have here. Their priests use beads, incense, caps, prostrations and offerings: they have also small bells with other music, and raise their voices in singing with the utmost vehemence. The object of their adoration was a PAGOD, ugly and deformed to a degree of horror. After the service was over, they presented me some of the fruits which had been offered to this idol; but I thought proper to refuse them, not without some melancholy reflections on the abject state to which human reason is frequently reduced.

The TARTARS hold this image worship in the utmost abomination; they will not carry even money which has any impression of man, bird, beast, creeping thing, or insect, into their temples. Their devotion is in silence and prostrations, except that the priest in an awful tone at certain times utters an invocation to the lord of nature, through the mediation of MAHOMMED. It must be observed, that the TARTARS about this city and kingdom, were formerly distinguished under denominations different from the present; for these countries were but little known, nor are they yet sufficiently civilized to admit of that communication, which affords an opportunity for an entire discovery, though the RUSSIANS have made a great progress in it. The NAGAY TARTARS are MAHOMMEDANS, resembling in countenance the KHALMUCKS, but better favoured, for their eyes are not so small; these and the KOOBANS are driven off to the eastward, and have seldom of late years made any inroads on the RUSSIAN frontiers.

<sup>m</sup> The RUSSIANS call it VISNOFKY.

For several miles round this city, where the soil will admit of cultivation, there are settlements of a very civil and industrious people of the race of the CRIM TARTARS, who are tributary to the RUSSIANS. In the summer they improve their land, the chief products of which are manna<sup>m</sup>, oats, musk, and water-melons; but they reckon that their principal treasure consists in their wives and children, with their sheep, horses, and cattle. When any of their daughters become marriageable, they cover her tent with white linnen, and put a painted cloth on the top, which is usually tied with red strings: they have also a painted waggon on the side of the tent; and this is to be her marriage portion. Those who design to marry observe this signal, and the girl is generally given to him who offers the father the most valuable present. These people are MAHOMMEDANS, and, contrary to the practice of the KHALMUCKS, extremely nice in their burying places. They dig their graves very deep, and after lining them with bricks dried in the sun, and whitewashing them in the inside, they build a cover over them. They also raise thick walls of mud round each tomb, on the top of which are fixed one or more white flags, according to the character of the deceased.

I had spent fifteen days here in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE from GHILAN, and observing that the season was far advanced, I determined, so soon as my caravan should come down the VOLGA, to embark in a RUSSIAN vessel; but the 4th of November I received the joyful news of WOODROOFE's arrival at YERKIE<sup>n</sup> with 100 bales of raw silk.

The reader must have observed, by the conferences I had with the governor of this place, how jealous the RUSSIANS were of Mr. ELTON. ARAPOFF the RUSSIAN consul in PERSIA, now gave intelligence that this gentleman had been at BALKHAN on the east coast of the CASPIAN, where he had reduced a province, and brought the chiefs of it prison-

<sup>m</sup> Seed so called.<sup>n</sup> The mouth of the VOLGA.

ers to GHILAN; and that WOODROOFE's ship had been employed in this enterprize; concluding that she ought not to be permitted to return to PERSIA. The real account of this matter, which captain WOODROOFE gave me soon after, was far from being satisfactory, and proved that ELTON was too deeply engaged in the affairs of the crown of PERSIA. Of this the reader will judge from the following abstract of WOODROOFE's journal, relating to his voyage to BALKHAN.

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## C H A P. XX.

*Captain WOODROOFE's voyage to BALKHAN, on the east coast of the CASPIAN sea, under the direction of Mr. JOHN ELTON, by order of NADIR SHAH.*

“ JUNE the 24th, 1743, the SHAH's orders were signified to me by captain ELTON, to survey the south east part of the CASPIAN, on which expedition the captain was to go himself. July the 21st we weighed anchor and set sail for ENZELLE, with orders to stop in LANGAROOD road. As this was a new navigation, to which most of the merchants in GHILAN were strangers, I could procure no other freight, than a small quantity of goods from captain ELTON, with which he intended to try the market of ASTRABAD.

“ July the 24th we anchored in LANGAROOD road, where Mr. ELTON embarked. I was then hardly recovered of a fever, with which I had been long afflicted. The 31st at noon we weighed, and the 5th of August anchored about two miles to the northward of the inlet into ASTRABAD bay. The next day I went in the long-boat to examine the entrance, and found a very good channel over the bar, and a fresh water river running into it from the eastward. We were about a mile from the mouth of this river towards the close of the evening, when we saw three large sandalls<sup>o</sup> coming over the bar. The day following I

<sup>o</sup> PERSIAN boats so called.

“ armed



“ armed and manned the long-boat, in order to ascend the river upon a  
“ discovery. Nothing appeared near the shore but woods and marshes,  
“ with a ridge of mountains, which running parallel with the sea coast,  
“ extends near east and west. At the entrance of the river there is only  
“ five feet water, but after we had proceeded about 20 miles, we found  
“ not less than 20 feet. We rowed all that day, but discovered no settle-  
“ ment. About a quarter of a mile from the entrance the water was  
“ fresh, but 18 miles higher we perceived it to be brackish, which is ow-  
“ ing I believe to the sea water that comes over the marshes. The wood  
“ is chiefly elm, willow, and birch, intermixed with vines. The river  
“ runs about east north east, with a small current. We saw a great num-  
“ ber of wild buffalo’s, hogs and deer, and likewise tracks, as they ap-  
“ peared to us, of wolves and tigers.

“ Night coming on, and our people being almost spent with the heat  
“ and fatigue of the day, we resolved to take up our lodging there, and  
“ prepared to defend ourselves against the wild beasts: for this purpose  
“ we cut down a large quantity of wood, and almost inclosing ourselves,  
“ set it on fire. The greatest inconveniency we suffered, was from the  
“ gnats, which stung us so intolerably, that many of our people stripp’d  
“ themselves, and lay all but their heads in the water. Not having dis-  
“ covered any settlement, about midnight we began to row down again,  
“ and at noon we reached the bay. Continuing our course along shore,  
“ about two miles to the southward of the mouth of the river, we  
“ heard the report of a musket, and looking carefully towards the place  
“ from whence it came, we saw about 50 men all armed, coming out  
“ of the woods down to the sea side: though we were apprehensive they  
“ were robbers who often infest this coast, yet we resolved to stand in  
“ for the shore. At our approach, perceiving that we had store of fire  
“ arms, they began to retire into the woods. We sent therefore our PER-  
“ SIAN servant on shore, to acquaint them that we were come on  
“ that coast by the SHAH’s orders, having business at ASTRABAD; and  
“ to convince them of the truth, we offered to exchange hostages, and

“ that if three of their people would come into our boat, three of ours  
 “ should go with them; to which they consented. Upon this I went,  
 “ attended by our interpreter and a servant, to the village of KONDAGA-  
 “ ZAR, which is near a mile from the water side, through a thick wood.  
 “ We were received by the principal people of the village with great  
 “ regard, and after refreshing ourselves with what the place afforded, we  
 “ returned to our boat. Among other things, we learnt that the three  
 “ sandalls which we saw coming over the bar, were TURKUMAN pirates,  
 “ that they had plundered a village a little to the south west, where they  
 “ killed eighteen men; and that these continual depredations obliged them  
 “ to be always upon their guard. As it was very dark, we lay all night  
 “ in the boat, but the next day we went aboard our ship, weighed and  
 “ came to anchor in KONDAGAZAR road in  $2\frac{3}{4}$  fathom water, in stiff  
 “ muddy ground.

“ August the 11th. I went on shore with letters from captain ELTON  
 “ for the governor of ASTRABAD, in which he desired that, as he was  
 “ about the SHAH's affairs, he might be provided with horses to carry him  
 “ to the city. At my return we landed our little cargo; not without  
 “ some difficulty, the shore being flat and low. Whilst we lay here,  
 “ the villagers shewed us great civilities, and constantly sent us provisions  
 “ of every sort in abundance. The 13th. Several of the principal inhabi-  
 “ tants came on board, and acquainted captain ELTON, that the governor  
 “ had sent horses and servants to conduct him to ASTRABAD; upon  
 “ which he immediately went on shore. After spending several days in  
 “ surveying this bay, and taking land skips of the coast; NASEER AGA, an  
 “ officer in the SHAH's service, arrived from the camp, with orders to take  
 “ four of the OGURTJOYS<sup>p</sup> who had left their country, and put them-  
 “ selves under PERSIAN protection, to serve us as pilots, as they were  
 “ well acquainted with the eastern coast. He was likewise commissioned  
 “ to take a sufficient number of soldiers under his command, with di-

<sup>p</sup> Inhabitants of the islands on the eastern coast.

“ rections to look for a proper place to build a garrison, in order to awe  
 “ the OGURTJOY pirates, and prevent their excursions.

“ The 31st of August. Captain ELTON and NASEER AGA, with 18  
 “ soldiers and four pilots came on board; and the next day we weighed.  
 “ We arrived the 8th of September at the south end of IDAK, the west-  
 “ termost of the OGURTJOY islands, and coasted the east side of it;  
 “ continuing our survey for four days. It is a long sandy island, which  
 “ stretches itself about north and south. Near it is DEVERISH a barren  
 “ island, which extends itself to north east and south west. The pilots  
 “ affirmed this to have been formerly a high land; but now it is low,  
 “ which we imputed to the rising of the water. Between these two islands  
 “ is a very good channel three fathoms deep, which extends to the north-  
 “ ward. IDAK has two wells of fresh water, and is inhabited by eight  
 “ or ten families, who have a few sheep and goats. The soil produces  
 “ a coarse sort of grape, melons, cucumbers, carrots, onions, &c. The  
 “ inhabitants, for want of harbours, having no boats, borrow them of  
 “ their neighbours in the island of NAPHTONIA<sup>1</sup>.

“ September the 14th. We weighed and came in close under the east  
 “ side of NAPHTONIA. The coast is difficult of access, the land being  
 “ very high; it extends itself six or eight leagues north and south, and  
 “ contains about 36 families, who have 28 large boats with several wells  
 “ of NAPHTHA<sup>2</sup>. The harbour is on the east side of the island: to the  
 “ southward there are four small isles, between all which, by the relation  
 “ of our pilot a native of the place, there is still 10 feet water; as there  
 “ is likewise up a large bay to the eastward of them, almost as far as  
 “ BALKHAN hill. NAPHTONIA has plenty of sheep, wild goats, ca-  
 “ mels, and asses, with exceeding good water; the latter is a great ad-  
 “ vantage to them, for all the springs along this coast, except here, and  
 “ on IDAK, are salt or brackish. The soil is fruitful, affording all man-

<sup>1</sup> So called by the RUSSIANS; the PERSIANS call it CHERRICAN.

<sup>2</sup> This is commonly understood to be a species of bitumen; it is of the nature of oil, of a very dark grey colour, and sulphureous smell.

ner of garden-stuff. There is an old mosque, to which the inhabitants come to worship. These people subsist entirely by piracy, making continual depredations on the neighbouring parts of PERSIA.

To remedy this evil, NADIR SHAH some years since offered to forgive all that was past, and to receive them into his favour, if they would come and settle about ASTRABAD bay, where they might have lands and sell their NAPHTHA to the inhabitants of that quarter. This they accepted, and carried on a brisk trade for about two years, selling their NAPHTHA to the PERSIANS, TURKUMANS, and roving OUSEEGS, and purchasing provisions to supply the inhabitants of the islands. But having had an opportunity of collecting a number of boats, they grew tired of this way of living, and returned to their trade of piracy; so that BALKHAN became a general rendezvous of robbers. NADIR SHAH being at that time engaged in his expedition against the MOGHOL, postponed the reduction of these people till his return. But upon enquiry he now found it attended with great difficulty, for the place is almost inaccessible by land, and the country so wild and barren, that none but those hardy people the TURKUMANS can live in it. Besides, in summer there is no fresh water along the coast, except one well; and in winter the desert is exceeding cold.

September the 15th. We weighed and ran through a channel not wider than half a cable's length, between the east end of DEVERISH and NAPHTONIA, and stood away along the north end of the latter. This channel is said to have been fordable about 18 years ago, but now it has every where 10 or 12 feet water. To the eastward we saw 14 large boats, which rowed towards us for some time, and then hoisting their sails ran round a bank of sand to the east side of NAPHTONIA; where they have a town with a pretty good harbour. As it was a calm we could not follow them, and a strong current setting out of the bay we were obliged to anchor in seven fathom water. The next day having a westerly breeze we weighed, and ran up the side of the island DARGAN, which forms the south part of the bay, and  
 " extends

“ extends near east and west. There is some rising ground on it, but  
“ no inhabitants, the land being barren and sandy. Notwithstanding  
“ there is no water on this island, yet, by report, it abounds in wild  
“ goats and deer, which, as the PERSIANS generally say, require no wa-  
“ ter, but subsist on the heavy dews that constantly fall in those parts.  
“ We continued sounding, and got up to a small island on the south  
“ side of the bay, called DAGADAW, where we anchored in two fa-  
“ thom water.

“ The day following we went with the long-boat to survey the island,  
“ designing also to go on shore on the main land for fresh water. Our  
“ pilot carried us to two springs, where there were many tracks of ca-  
“ mels and sheep. The water was brackish; for as all the land on this  
“ side the CASPIAN is impregnated with salt, so are the springs, except  
“ two at the foot of BALKHAN mountain; and yet the TURKUMANS  
“ and their cattle drink of it. I was informed, that it is now 100 years  
“ since the OXUS emptied itself into the upper end of this bay. As this  
“ river was often dried up in many places in the heat of the summer,  
“ the TURKUMANS imagined, that by stopping the mouth of it they  
“ could preserve it above. But the contrary fell out, for the water hav-  
“ ing no passage to clear away the sand, which was constantly blown off  
“ the desert into this river, it is filled up, and scarce any vestiges of it  
“ are now remaining near the CASPIAN sea.

“ Round DAGADAW there is full two fathom water, which is con-  
“ stantly smooth and clear. Our pilots informed us that there is a great  
“ scarcity of fish, for which reason the inhabitants keep 10 fishing  
“ boats in a bay about half a day's journey to the northward, which  
“ the PERSIANS call OBB MAYSEY\*. Here they catch plenty of fish  
“ not only for their own use, but likewise for sale to the TURKUMANS  
“ and roving TARTARS. The RUSSIANS pretend there is a whirlpool in  
“ this bay; but this is denied by the TURKUMANS, who affirm they fish

\* Or fishing water.

“ all over it. In all parts of it there is at least eight fathom water; but  
“ the entrance is very narrow.

“ September the 18th. As we continued founding up the bay, we  
“ found the water grew shallow; the deepest is close along the island  
“ DARGAN, which runs up near the foot of the mountain of BALK-  
“ HAN, between which and the island there is a little channel of five  
“ feet water. Rowing across the bay we saw numbers of people,  
“ who upon our approaching towards the island, made signals,  
“ by throwing up sand in the air, which at a distance appeared like  
“ smoke. They began their signals at the water side, and were answered  
“ quite to the easternmost end. When we were arrived at the foot of  
“ the mountain, we saw 14 boats at anchor to the southward of DAR-  
“ GAN, where there is a wide bay that extends into the CASPIAN. Our  
“ pilot informed us, that at the foot of the mountain there is five feet  
“ water, which deepens gradually to the westward into 10 feet; and this  
“ is the founding through all the passages between NAPHTONIA and the  
“ islands to the southward. This day we weighed, and ran up into nine  
“ feet water, and moored the ship near the foot of the mountain.

“ Here captain ELTON and NASEER AGA' went in search of a conve-  
“ nient spot, on which they might build a fort. They had taken with  
“ them on shore the PERSIAN soldiers, a pilot, and four sailors, with  
“ arms and ammunition sufficient to make a defence against those TAR-  
“ TARS, in case of an attack. Soon after they put off, we saw the 14  
“ boats steering to the westward, but could not perceive any body up-  
“ on the island.

“ September the 22d. Our people returned from their survey, and  
“ reported, that when they had got up to BALKHAN they found only  
“ one man on the coast, whom the TARTARS had commissioned to en-  
“ quire after us. Upon our first approaching NAPHTONIA, the inhabi-  
“ tants imagined we were driven in there by distress, for which reason  
“ they manned all their boats with design to cut us off. But ob-  
“ serving

“ seeing that we beat the drum and fired the morning gun, and seeing  
 “ us run so readily through the narrow passage between DEVERISH and  
 “ NAPHTONIA, they concluded we were sent by the SHAH to destroy  
 “ them; upon which they made all haste back to save their families and  
 “ cattle. The former they conveyed in boats to BALKHAN, with an  
 “ intent to alarm the TARTARS in that neighbourhood; but they transport-  
 “ ed their cattle, consisting of camels, sheep, and asses, to DARGAN,  
 “ together with two women slaves, and two of their own men, to  
 “ whom they gave instructions to drive them to the south east part of  
 “ the island. But seeing us come up the bay so close after them, they  
 “ went round in order to take in their cattle again, lest we should inter-  
 “ cept them. This precaution however proved quite fruitless from an-  
 “ other cause; for, to their great surprize, they found that most of them  
 “ were already destroyed by wild beasts. One of the slaves was also kil-  
 “ led: the other being greatly distressed for want of water, and not used  
 “ to such hardships, expired in a few hours; so that only the two men  
 “ and a few camels were saved. They sailed then to the southward,  
 “ while the TURKUMANS and several OUSBEG TARTARS who frequent  
 “ this neighbourhood, fled up into the mountain of BALKHAN.

“ These pirates were possessed of 17 boats more, which were then on  
 “ a cruise on the coast of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. 'Tis their  
 “ custom to send only half of their boats out at a time, for fear of a visit  
 “ from the SHAH's forces, or lest they should lose a prize by suffering  
 “ any vessel to escape, that might be driven in here by distress. Whenever  
 “ this happens, they take all that is useful out of her, then set her on  
 “ fire, and either kill the sailors, or sell them as slaves to the OUSBEG  
 “ TARTARS.

“ Captain ELTON having received this information proceeded in his  
 “ survey, in order to be satisfied if there was any possibility of executing  
 “ the SHAH's project. This prince had been informed, that there was  
 “ plenty of fresh water in those parts; but upon examination it was found  
 “ that the springs were overflowed with salt water. There was another  
 “ spring indeed a mile and a half higher up, but as it was very small

“ and at such a distance, it would not answer the purpose. The island of  
 “ DAGADAW was judged the safest place for the garrison, as the maga-  
 “ zines would be there most secure from any surprize by land on the  
 “ part of the TARTARS. With regard to fresh water, captain ELTON  
 “ proposed to provide a number of boats, and to bring it from NAPHTONIA;  
 “ which was the more feasible, as the navigation between the two islands  
 “ is extremely safe.

“ September the 28th. As I had a voyage now depending from GHI-  
 “ LAN to RUSSIA, there was not time sufficient to make any farther dis-  
 “ covery. There was only half a hoghead of fresh water on board,  
 “ and to go on shore on NAPHTONIA would have occasioned too great a  
 “ delay. We therefore weighed for FARABAD, where we landed our  
 “ passengers the 30th of September; and after getting fresh water we pro-  
 “ ceeded for ENZELLE.”

From this account of captain WOODROOFE, it seems that NADIR with his usual sagacity foresaw a rebellion from that side of TURKUMANIA, which induced him to employ his new servant ELTON; his intent being to send a fleet to BALKHAN with provisions, in order to build a fort and keep a garrison in that place, to awe the TURKUMAN TARTARS. This step could not but give great offence to the RUSSIANS, because their barrier would become so much the weaker, and the PERSIANS might the more easily invade RUSSIA on that side, which had been always considered as impracticable.

## C H A P. . XXI.

*The Author continues his voyage down the VOLGA to the mouth of the CASPIAN. A brief account of the KHALMUCK settlements; and of the river VOLGA. The method of curing CAVIARE.*

NOVEMBER the 8th. We left ASTRACHAN under convoy of the governor's barge with 12 granadiers. It has been already observed, that this old gentleman had been greatly instrumental in bringing the  
 TARTARS

TARTARS to a peaceable subjection to the RUSSIAN government: for this purpose he had taken all the large boats from the KHALMUCKS; so that here, as in other places, they were obliged to fish in small canoes. At night we slept within pistol-shot of a KHALMUCK settlement. The habitations of these people are round tents, which they call KHABITKA's, raised with canes in the form of a cone, and covered with WILOCKS<sup>1</sup>. These tents are of 10, and some of 15 yards in circumference, and about 12 feet high; they make their fires in the center of the tent, and the smoke issues from the top, which is prepared for that purpose.

These people are miserably poor, subsisting on fish which they take in the VOLGA; they dry in the summer their winter's provision. They prefer to live on the banks, where flags and rushes are grown to a great height, these being some defence against the rigors of the cold season. There are seldom seen above 7 or 8 tents in a place, which contain 30 or 40 persons, who live in distinct families under one whom they chuse as their chief. Besides these, there are other KHALMUCKS, who travel to the south when the winter comes on, and return northward in the heat of the summer.

It is easy to conceive how murders and robberies frequently happen in these parts. I gave the strictest orders for a regular watch of two men under arms during the night; but I more than once found them fast asleep. As we advanced within 30 wersts of the mouth of the VOLGA, we descried a great number of small islands; the whole scene appearing wild and inhospitable. We were obliged to stop at SADLISTOVA a little island, where resides the officer who gives clearances to passengers.

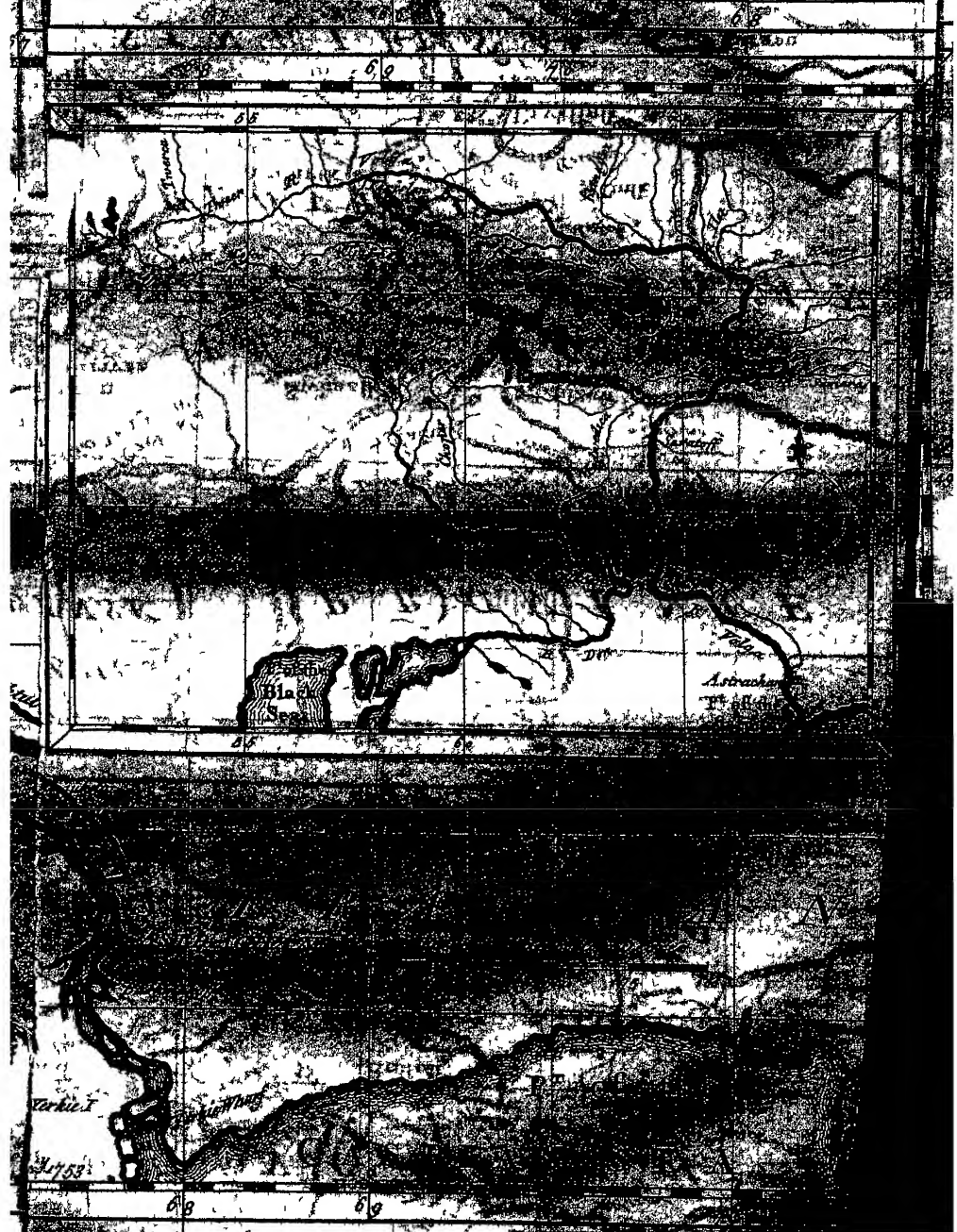
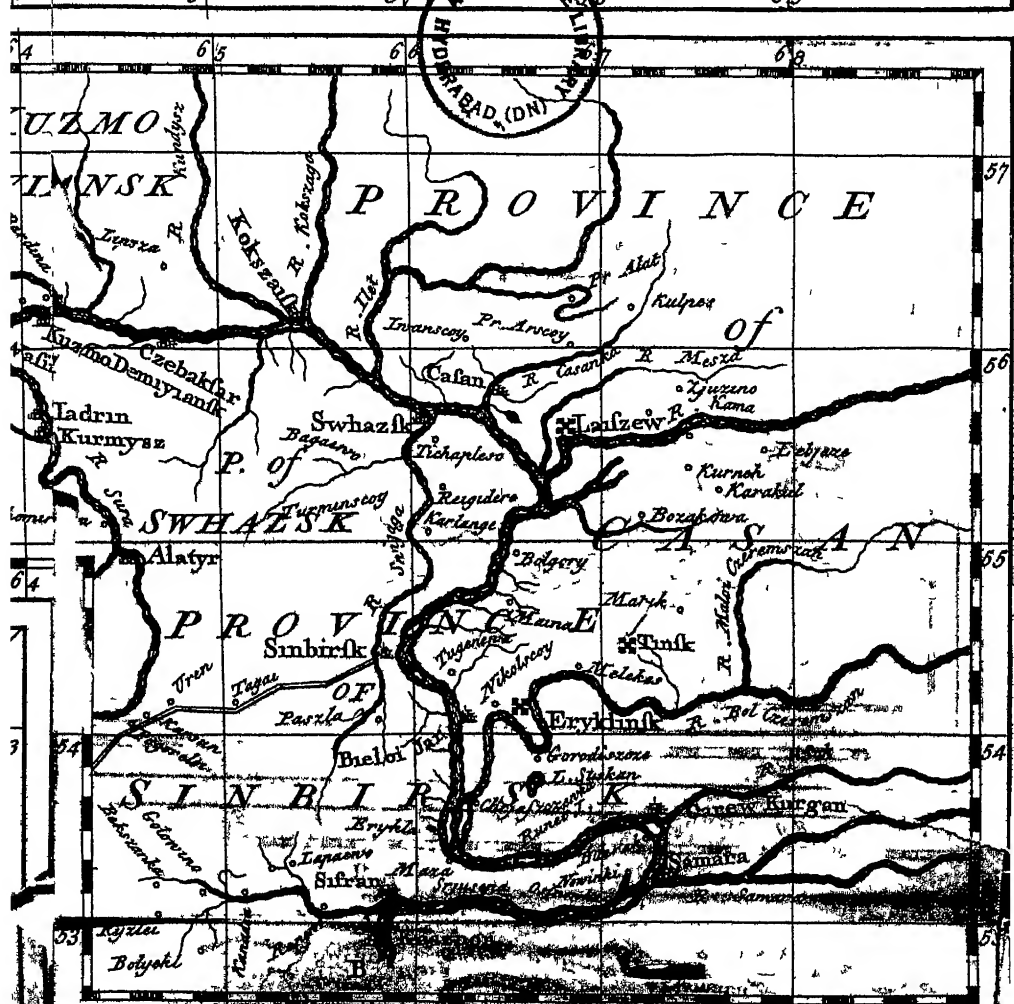
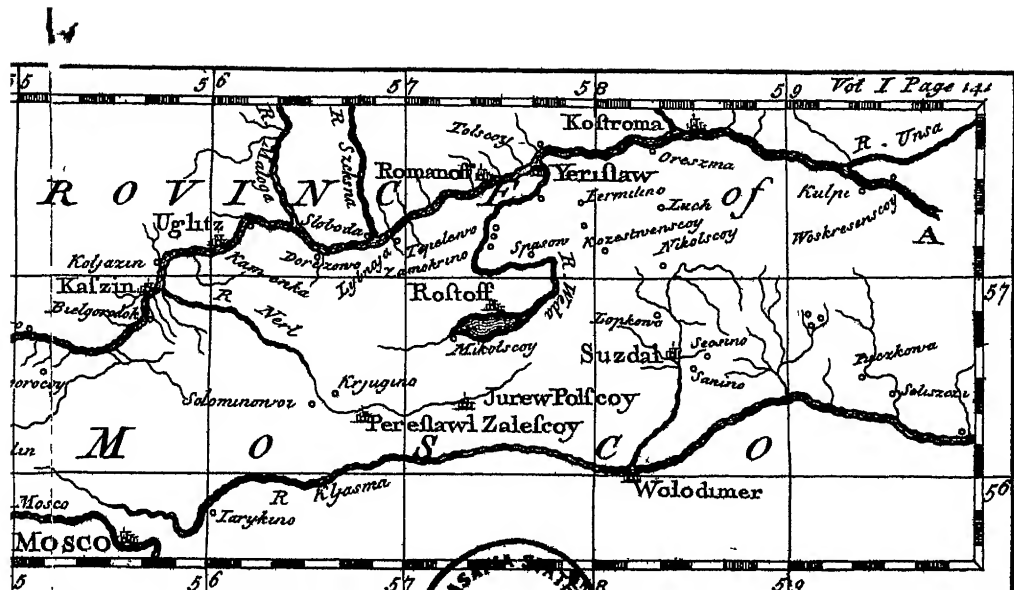
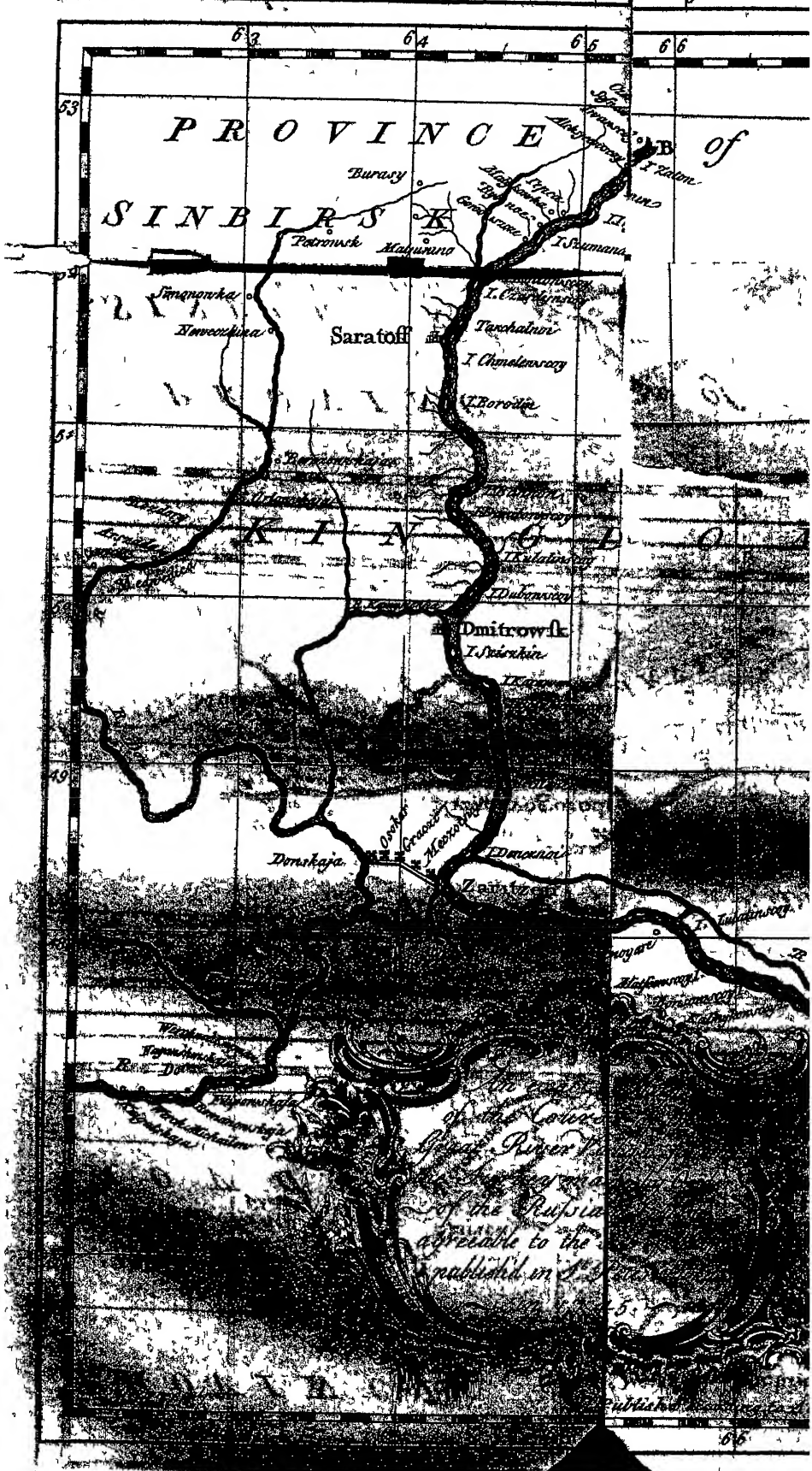
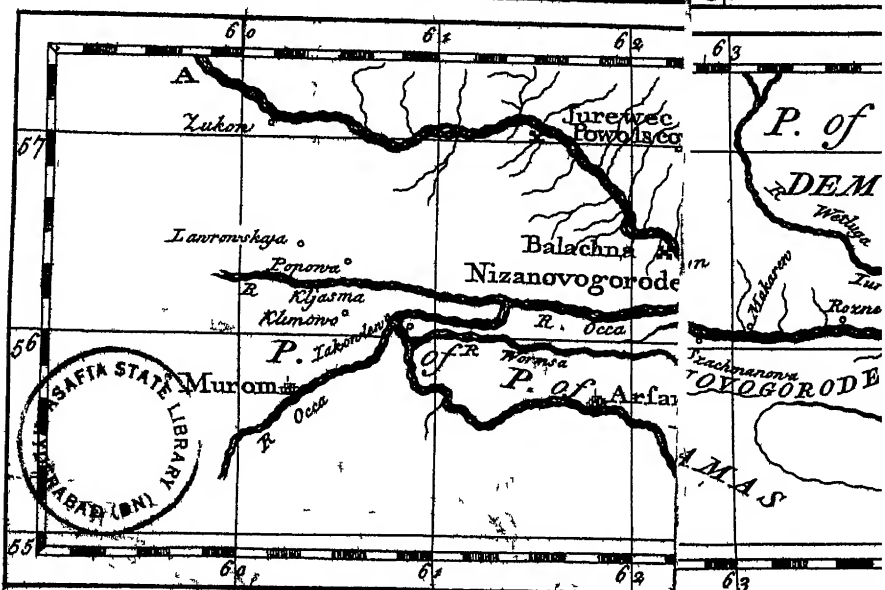
Being happily arrived at YERKIE, we embarked in the BRITISH ship EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, much delighted to find ourselves in a vessel of good oak, regularly built, well fitted, and probably the only complete ship which till that time had appeared on the CASPIAN. It was no less a pleasure to see the ENGLISH flag hoisted, and some satisfaction to receive

<sup>1</sup> This is a very thick felt of camel's hair, which keeps out the weather extremely well.

those common marks of esteem which masters of ships usually pay their merchants when they have any guns.

Though I have in several parts of this work made occasional mention of the VOLGA, yet a river of such consideration deserves a more particular attention; and I think no place so proper as this, being now about to take my leave of it. This river was antiently called the RHA, and is reputed for extent and depth one of the noblest in the world. It derives its source from the lake FERNOFF in the province of RESKOFF, running, according to general computation, near 4500 wersts<sup>1</sup> before it empties itself into the CASPIAN sea. It takes in the river TWERSA which comes from TWERE, the MOSCWA from MOSCO, the OCCA from COLUMNA, the KAMA which divides the NAGAY and KOOBAN TARTARS, the SAMAR at SAMARA, and many others. It is of the utmost utility to the greatest part of the vast empire of RUSSIA, not only with regard to commerce, but as it has been a means of reducing the different tribes of TARTARS who frequent its borders. The immense quantities of water it receives from other rivers, and from the many hilly countries from whence descend great torrents, particularly when the snow melts in the spring, are the cause of its swelling at different times and places. It begins usually to rise in March, and increases in April and May, continuing above its usual mark, till the end of June; and then it decreases very fast. There is often another rise in September by autumnal rains; but this is not so constant, nor near so considerable. It varies in different places; at ASTRACHAN it is only seven or eight feet, unless the southerly winds blow in the water at the same time from the CASPIAN. About ZARITZEN, which is above 400 wersts higher, I saw a mark at about 20 feet, as already mentioned; and at CASAN, which is 1250 wersts yet higher, the rise is said to be much greater. As there are so many different climates in the course of this river, the ice breaks up at different times; as at ASTRACHAN about the end of February, and at CASAN generally a month later. Here the banks alter almost every year, partly by the force of the current, and partly by the sands which are blown into the river from

<sup>1</sup> 3000 ENGLISH miles.



the adjacent country. The danger arising from these shifting banks is not very great; but they create delays. The common course of the stream can hardly be reckoned above a mile an hour, but in the time of the floods it is generally three miles.

The navigation is very difficult for vessels drawing above five feet water, except in the flood times, when the largest flat bottomed vessels find sufficient water. I have seen a vessel afloat in the month of October, said to have 600 tons of salt and fish aboard; and in some seasons they have barks of greater burthen. The trade from many parts is great and extensive, but from no place more considerable than from YARISLAW and CASAN. The sailors who navigate this river, are remarkable for their dexterity in warping. They have three boats to carry out the warps, which they take in forward; and at the same time they coil the warp from the stern into the boat, while the other two boats are a-head laying fresh warps; for as soon as they have run out one, the end of the other is ready. These vessels sometimes carry from 150 to 200 men, and as their bigness prevents their sailing, except the wind be very fair, they warp 30 ENGLISH miles in a day against the stream, which, as we have already observed, is sometimes very rapid. Besides the vast abundance of fish taken in this river, and sent either salted or frozen to distant parts of the RUSSIAN empire, there is a considerable commerce carried on in CAVIARE \*.

The method of preparing this commodity is to take away the stringy part, then to mix it with salt well cleaned and made into brine; and when drained from the oily parts and pressed, it becomes of such a consistency as to keep two or three years. The grain is of a darkish grey colour, almost as big as a pepper corn, and cuts transparent. In the winter it is sent fresh to all parts of the empire, and is much esteemed by the natives as well as foreigners, being well known to partake of the nature of oysters. There is also a large quantity made for exportation, which is consumed in ITALY and by the christians in the LEVANT. The ARMENIANS have the skill of preparing it best, and usually make above 6000 poods \* every year. In 1749 they brought 20,000 poods to market.

\* Roe of sturgeon and belluga, the RUSSIANS call it IECRA.

\* About 100 tons.

Having thus given a short account of the VOLGA, and being ready to launch out into the CASPIAN, I think it will be proper to introduce a more particular description of that sea, besides what has been already given concerning BALKHAN. But as this is a province which properly belongs to a seaman, I must refer my reader to the following extracts of captain WOODROOFE's journal, from his first entering on that navigation.

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## C H A P. XXII.

*Extracts of captain WOODROOFE's journal from his setting out from ASTRACHAN in June 1742, on his first voyage.*

“ JUNE the 20th, 1742. Upon our entrance into the CASPIAN  
 “ we met with hard gales of southerly winds attended with a very  
 “ hollow sea, and soon lost our great launch from the stern. The day  
 “ following we hauled up to the eastward, on account of the rocks  
 “ lying between SWETOI and ZELOI islands; some of these run a  
 “ mile to the eastward, and there is a very large one two miles east  
 “ of SWETOI. Here we saw several breakers, which we took to be  
 “ rocks under water. The safest way is to avoid ZELOI, the land being  
 “ low and the weather generally hazy; and it is not discernible above  
 “ two leagues even in clear weather.

“ June the 27th. For several days we had light westerly and south  
 “ west winds with a strong current, which frustrated our endeavours to  
 “ reach ENZELLE. Our water running low we made the south shore,  
 “ and came to an anchor in 10 fathom, when we discovered a town  
 “ from the mast-head. The shore for many miles has the appearance  
 “ of a very pleasant and fertile country, agreeably checkered with groves,  
 “ pastures, and arable lands. At the extent of this landscape is a ridge of  
 “ high mountains, extending from east to west, behind which the peak

“ DEMONA,

“ DEMOAN rises far above the rest. We immediately hoisted out our  
 “ boat, and having rowed three leagues to the eastward, we landed near the  
 “ town of MESCHEDIZAR.

“ Here an hundred men under arms presented themselves, and without  
 “ any ceremony dragged our boat to shore, signifying that we were  
 “ their prisoners. Among this troop there were three who had the  
 “ appearance of officers, but seemed to preserve no kind of disci-  
 “ pline. They stood for near an hour at bay, resting on their arms,  
 “ and laughing very loud. At length a person came whom they treat-  
 “ ed with great deference; he was attended by several others of good  
 “ figure, and among the rest by a RUSSIAN interpreter.

“ This person demanded in very civil terms who I was, and what I  
 “ wanted. I informed him that I had a cargo of goods for the ENGLISH  
 “ factory at RESHD, in whose service I was employed; that my ship was  
 “ at anchor three leagues to the eastward, and that contrary winds and  
 “ want of water had occasioned my coming on shore. He replied, that  
 “ the case might possibly be as I represented it, but as the coast was very  
 “ much exposed to the depredations of pirates, he must be satisfied in a  
 “ circumstance which could not but appear suspicious; adding, that to  
 “ be convinced of our innocence, he would dispatch a messenger to  
 “ inquire after our vessel. In the mean time he desired me to sit down  
 “ by him on the sand, assuring me that I had nothing to fear. He  
 “ invited me also to sup with him, and at my request ordered a pro-  
 “ per guard over the boat, with provisions for the sailors. We had  
 “ hardly reached his house when the servant arrived with the news of  
 “ the ship, with which he was very well pleased. When we had fi-  
 “ nished our repast, he made an apology for what had happened, inform-  
 “ ing me that MAHOMMED KHAN the governor of the province, had  
 “ issued out orders to all the villages along the sea coast, to detain every  
 “ strange boat that should come on shore, and send the commander of  
 “ it to him; for which reason I must go with him the next day to

“ BAL-

“ BALFRUSH, the metropolis of this province. Early in the morning  
 “ horses were brought to the door, and three servants attended us on  
 “ foot to BALFRUSH. The governor had heard of my arrival, and  
 “ being well acquainted with our factory in RESHD, entertained me with  
 “ a very handsome dinner, and gave me a passport to procure assistance  
 “ in all other parts of that coast subject to his authority. As a further  
 “ proof of his good will, he ordered the calentar to furnish us with  
 “ water from certain choice springs, and with all the provisions I wanted;  
 “ and if I had no PERSIAN money, he desired him to take my bills  
 “ upon the factors at RESHD. After these civilities he wished me a good  
 “ voyage, and I took my leave.

“ Between this city and MESCHEDIZAR, which are distant from each  
 “ other about 12 miles, is a pleasant country; the people are well  
 “ limbed, robust, and very active, particularly in wrestling, running, and  
 “ other such exercises. At MESCHEDIZAR there is a little market for  
 “ fruit, such as musk and water-melons, apples, pears, and plumbs, very  
 “ fine raisins, rice, brown and loaf sugar, which they make here and  
 “ at BALFRUSH. The loaf sugar is bad, and when dissolved produces a  
 “ greasy scum; but the raw brown sugar, though of a very dark colour,  
 “ is of a firm grain and not disagreeable. The inhabitants use a liquid  
 “ made from the juice of grapes<sup>w</sup>, with which they sweeten their water  
 “ and rice. They have also comfits of lemon peel and lime; like-  
 “ wise ginger, citrons and almonds, chiefly candied and preserved  
 “ with brown sugar. Provisions were so cheap that a good sheep  
 “ cost only about four shillings; they have cheese and butter, but  
 “ the first is very bad, and the last of too sweet a flavour. There is  
 “ a small river that runs into the sea, by which they carry on a  
 “ trade to GHILAN, chiefly consisting of raw cotton, calicoes, and  
 “ earthen ware; these goods are brought to their market by the peasants  
 “ on asses and cows, and in bad weather are carried the same way into  
 “ GHILAN, but in summer they are conveyed by water in flat bottomed  
 “ vessels. The BEACH of the sea is driven up in this place to a great

<sup>w</sup> Called DUSHAB.

“ height,

“ height; and behind it are lakes of stagnant, brackish water, and marshy  
 “ woody land. The surf which had hindered our getting off, being  
 “ now abated, we launched our boat from the shore, with her loading  
 “ of fresh water, which came aboard very seasonably. After our return  
 “ from MESCHEDIZAR we discovered FINICANAR, another small village  
 “ near the sea side; here we put ashore, and filled our casks with excel-  
 “ lent water, having first produced the certificate which MAHOMMED  
 “ KHAN had given us, to which the villagers paid so much regard, as to  
 “ refuse the money we offered them for their assistance. This village  
 “ is situated in the midst of a wood, on a little river which former-  
 “ ly discharged itself into the sea, but now the mouth of it is stop-  
 “ ped up; upon which occasion they tell a remarkable story. About  
 “ eight years ago a great party of RUSSIAN and TURKUMAN pirates hav-  
 “ ing stolen a large vessel from the entrance of the VOLGA, put into  
 “ this river with a design to plunder all the villages upon it. They had  
 “ with them six pieces of small cannon, and a considerable quantity of  
 “ ammunition, intending to fortify themselves here, and establish a ren-  
 “ dezvous. The inhabitants having suspicion of their intentions, abandon-  
 “ ed FINICANAR, and alarming their neighbours came down undiscovered,  
 “ and filled up the mouth of the river with trees and sand; men, wo-  
 “ men and children exerting themselves in this common danger. The  
 “ pirates were plundering at discretion, fearless of surprize; when the PER-  
 “ SIAN peasants mustering all their strength attacked them: some of the  
 “ pirates were killed, others taken, and the rest made the best of their way  
 “ down the river, expecting to recover their vessel; but they soon found  
 “ their mistake, and nothing remained but to surrender themselves. The  
 “ RUSSIANS were pardoned upon entering into the PERSIAN service; but  
 “ the TURKUMANS, being old offenders, were cut to pieces. The vessel  
 “ still lies at the mouth of the river, and the dam is become a firm  
 “ beach, which defends the brave cottagers from the like invasion, tho’  
 “ it has ruined their river.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Captain WOODROOFE's journal continued, from July 1742 to June 1743, with the several remarkable occurrences till his voyage to BALKHAN.*

“ **T**HE 5th of July we departed from FINICANAR for GHILAN, but  
 “ our voyage was much retarded by light westerly breezes, and a  
 “ strong current. We found the soundings along the coast very gradual  
 “ and regular. The wind continuing contrary we put into LANGAROOD  
 “ bay. In a cove \* to the westward we discovered a vessel at anchor; up-  
 “ on which we ran into seven fathom water, came to an anchor, and dis-  
 “ patched our letters to RESHD.

“ The 13th. A light breeze springing up at east south east, we  
 “ weighed, and the next day came to an anchor in ENZELLE road. A  
 “ scant of water on the bar obliged us to unload our cargo, which was  
 “ carried to PERIBAZAR in PERSIAN boats, and from thence by land to  
 “ RESHD. There is a river running from PERIBAZAR to RESHD, but it is  
 “ so drained by the multiplicity of channels to convey water to their rice  
 “ grounds, as renders it unnavigable. This is an open road, intirely exposed  
 “ to the north. The winds being light and veerable favoured us very much,  
 “ but a hollow northern swell, with a strong eastern current, rendered it  
 “ both disagreeable and dangerous. The inlet from ENZELLE road to EN-  
 “ ZELLE † for a mile and half has the appearance of a river, but afterwards  
 “ it opens into a lake of about three leagues extent, where the RUSSIAN ves-  
 “ sels lay; and from whence a narrow river runs about two miles further  
 “ to PERIBAZAR: the course across the lake is south east by south half  
 “ south. The 28th. Our cargo being all landed, we were taken into  
 “ the service of the PERSIAN government to carry rice to DERBEND for  
 “ the army, where the SHAH was then in person, endeavouring to re-  
 “ duce the LESGEE TARTARS.

“ While we were taking in our lading from the magazine at PERI-  
 “ BAZAR, I made some observations on the PERSIAN manner of ship build-

\* LANGAROOD cove.

† A small village on the west point of the land.

“ ing.

“ ing. The major part of their vessels are built by RUSSIAN deserters, who  
 “ meet with encouragement from the PERSIANS. They are made of elm,  
 “ which abounds in this province; their sails are of cotton, their cables  
 “ of flax, and some, of the bark of trees. In fair weather they hoist a  
 “ large square sail, two parts laced together; and when it blows a little  
 “ they come to anchor close to shore, not chusing to be farther out than  
 “ two fathoms water. If it blows hard they let their vessel run with  
 “ her broad side ashore, and endeavour to keep her there moor'd by the  
 “ stumps of trees, which are found in abundance on this coast. In order  
 “ to heave them off again, they carry spars, but they are often obliged  
 “ to unload them, and are frequently wrecked. To supply their want  
 “ of anchors, they use crooked pieces of iron, with stones tied to them.  
 “ There are some larger vessels built after the antient manner, of 30  
 “ or 40 tuns, which are called sandalls; their beams are dovetail'd through  
 “ the side in tiers, and a row in every three feet; by which means these  
 “ vessels are divided into partitions, which are made tight, so as to con-  
 “ fine any leak, and prevent its communication with the rest of the ship.  
 “ They are mostly caulked with cotton, the inside as well as the out; the  
 “ seams are filled as full as possible when they are first built; and to se-  
 “ cure them the more effectually, they cover them with canvass well tar-  
 “ red, and lay battins over it every three or four inches, stapling them  
 “ fast with a kind of crooked nail. This method keeps them dry dur-  
 “ ing four or five years, after which they are generally broke up as useles.  
 “ Their KIRJIEMS <sup>y</sup> are in the greatest use and esteem, though they sel-  
 “ dom venture with any of them farther than MESCHEDIZAR for raw cot-  
 “ ton, oats, and earthen ware; or westward to BAKU, where they carry  
 “ rice, and return with rock salt, saffron, and NAPTHA.

“ August the 29th. The RUSSIAN consul at RESHD appeared very jea-  
 “ lous, and obliged our RUSSIAN seamen to sign papers without their

<sup>y</sup> Small boats so called.

“ knowing the contents. This morning when we weighed for DERBEND,  
“ we saw a RUSSIAN vessel stranded. We arrived there in 12 days, but  
“ a great surf on the beach detained us on board till the 14th of Sep-  
“ tember; we then went on shore to make a report of our cargo, and were  
“ ordered by HUSSEIN ALI BEG the chief receiver of provisions, to take  
“ all favourable opportunities to land it. The RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN  
“ merchants were much offended at our ships being employed by the  
“ PERSIANS, as it interfered with their interest; and the consul threatened  
“ to complain of our conduct to the court of RUSSIA.

“ September the 17th. The surf on the beach decreasing, I went on  
“ shore in search of a proper place to land the cargo. The receiver  
“ HUSSEIN ALI BEG, with the RUSSIAN secretary, the interpreter, and se-  
“ veral persons of distinction on horseback, were just then arrived at the  
“ water side. A running footman approached, and made signs to me to  
“ come to his master. I imagined he had some orders to communicate  
“ with relation to our lading, but, to my infinite surprize, I no sooner  
“ drew near than they began to beat me with sticks in a most unmerci-  
“ ful manner, without alledging the least reason for such behaviour. Af-  
“ ter they had knocked me down upon the beach, a fellow sat on my  
“ head, squeezing my face into the sand, so that I was almost suffocated,  
“ whilst two men continued to beat me on the back, till I was quite  
“ deprived of sense and motion. They then suffered one of our men to  
“ carry me off, not without two or three violent blows on the head,  
“ which brought on a great effusion of blood. After this act of barba-  
“ rity, it was observed that the RUSSIAN interpreter made a low bow to  
“ the receiver, who being now informed that I was not a RUSSIAN sub-  
“ ject, and conscious of his temerity, rode down to our boat and begged  
“ pardon for the injury he had done me. I was carried on board spitting  
“ blood, and remained two months incapable of discharging my duty.  
“ Captain ELTON who now commanded the ship, dispatched his inter-  
“ preter to the camp, to solicit his own affairs, and at the same time to  
“ complain of my ill usage.

“ Septem-

“ September the 30th. Having discharged our cargo we sailed for LANGAROOD road, which we reached in nine days, and began to load again with rice for DERBEND. After shipping our second cargo, and being tolerably recovered of my bruises, I went to RUDIZAR, a village about 14 miles from LANGAROOD cove, in order to victual the ship for her voyage. Here we met with very civil treatment, but whether it was because we were christians, or for some other reason, they would not admit us into their houses, so that we were obliged to sleep in the market place; however they dressed victuals for us, and in all other respects were very obliging. In the evening we heard the sound of music, the occasion of which was a wedding. The bride, the eldest of the couple, was but twelve years old, being married thus prematurely to prevent her being taken away without marriage.

“ December the 7th. After a very bad passage, in which we lost our best bower anchor, we arrived once more in DERBEND road. A great surf on the beach detained us three nights on shore, where we found every thing very naked and uncomfortable. The houses were without beds or furniture, and fuel was so scarce as to be sold for the value of three pence the pound. Here we found captain ELTON's interpreter returned from the camp of NADIR SHAH, who was about ten leagues to the north of this place. He had represented my ill treatment to ALI KOULI KHAN the king's nephew, who together with MUSTAPHA KHAN, the next in precedence, made a report of the affair to the SHAH. HUSSEIN ALI BEG was immediately sent for from DERBEND, and deprived not only of his post, but likewise of all his effects, even to his cloaths; and he received moreover at the picquet 300 blows on his feet and back: in this deep disgrace he was ordered to return to DERBEND. Here he came to me, and throwing himself on his knees, begged I would cease from complaining, and as he had nothing left but his life, that I would not pursue him to destruction. He confessed that he was fatally misled by the RUSSIAN secretary, who under pretence of my being a subject of RUSSIA, and of having committed an offence, had desired him to treat me in that cruel

“ man-

“ manner. This excuse induced ALI KOULI KHAN to save his life, and  
“ in a great measure turned the edge of my resentment against those ex-  
“ ceedable wretches who had been the cause of his committing such an  
“ act of inhumanity.

“ The successor of HUSSEIN ALI BEG WAS AGA NABIE, a courteous  
“ person, who, either through respect or fear, shewed himself very in-  
“ dustrious in his new employment, and ready to give us all the assist-  
“ ance in his power. Before we could land our cargo, a hard gale of  
“ wind came on at north north east, which soon broke our sheet anchor  
“ and drove us near the shore: in this extremity we were afraid to trust  
“ our all to the only anchor we had left, but cutting the sheet cable at  
“ the windless, with great difficulty we wore the ship with the forefail and  
“ forestayfail, and cleared the breakers. We then stretched off to sea,  
“ with a double reef'd mainfail, which soon split; but having a pretty good  
“ offing we furled the forefail, and lay to under a mainstayfail. In two  
“ days the gale abated, and the wind coming round to the southward,  
“ we returned to an anchor in the road. In our absence two RUSSIAN  
“ vessels were stranded. Not liking so precarious a situation, we imme-  
“ diately loaded our long-boat with rice; but unfortunately the water be-  
“ ing lower than usual, the boat deep laden, and the sea running high,  
“ she struck against a rock that lay under water, and started one of her  
“ bottom planks. With great difficulty by the help of near 100 PER-  
“ SIANS and RUSSIANS we got out the rice, and hauled her up on shore.  
“ In the interim the interpreter returned from the camp, and informed  
“ us that captain ELTON had received singular honours from NADIR SHAH.  
“ About midnight we were attacked by a gang of LESGEE robbers; but  
“ by the help of our arms, we repulsed them without any loss. The next  
“ night these villains made a second attack upon our tents, in hopes of  
“ the booty they had before missed. One of our RUSSIAN sailors up-  
“ on watch called to them in the TURKISH language, and receiving  
“ no answer, fired at them; the rest of our people flying to their arms,  
“ a skirmish ensued, but no loss was sustained on our side. These were  
“ roving TARTARS, who had left their horses on the outside of the north  
“ wall,

“ wall, and crept through a hole under the bastions. The next day  
 “ we traced them by their blood along the snow to a considerable dis-  
 “ tance. - To prevent any future attack, we acquainted the governor of  
 “ what had befallen us, who promised to order a patrol of fifty horse to  
 “ guard the walls during our continuance in that place.

“ January the 15th 1743. Captain ELTON returned from the camp  
 “ metamorphosed into a compleat PERSIAN, being dressed in a coat of ho-  
 “ nour, a sash, and a cap, which were presented him by the SHAH. In his  
 “ turbant he wore a small roll of paper containing the decree, in which  
 “ the honours granted him were expressed; it being the PERSIAN custom  
 “ to wear the marks of the prince’s favour in the most conspicuous man-  
 “ ner. Mr. ELTON also received a present of five hundred crowns, and  
 “ his interpreter one hundred. As a farther proof of this monarch’s  
 “ good will towards us, a severe piece of justice was executed on HUSSEIN  
 “ ALI BEG: he was brought to the water-side, where his nostrils were slit,  
 “ and his ears cut off; in this condition he was ordered to watch under  
 “ the gallows near the shore, as long as we should continue there.

“ The RUSSIAN secretary was likewise mortified, by being obliged to  
 “ ask pardon for his cruelty. Accordingly he dispatched his servant with a  
 “ present of fruit and wine for captain ELTON; and at the same time de-  
 “ fired to be permitted to come on board to beg forgiveness for the injuries  
 “ he had done us: But we saved him the trouble by weighing anchor  
 “ before the messenger could return.

“ February the 1st. We weighed for BAKU, and a hard gale coming  
 “ on, we lost our yawl from the stern. The 6th. We haul’d round ZE-  
 “ LOI island for BAKU bay: but the nights being dark, and the wind  
 “ blowing directly off shore, we were obliged to come to an anchor in 9  
 “ fathom water, within two miles of the shore, and yet could not discern  
 “ the land, the weather being hazy. Hard gales of north easterly winds  
 “ drove us into 45 fathoms water, where a great sea obliged us to cut a-  
 “ way the cable at the windless before we could wear the ship: then we  
 “ bore away for LANGAROOD, and happily weathered out the storm.  
 “ The

“ The 12th. We anchored in LANGAROOD road, where we lay three  
 “ days without the bar in no small danger ; when a favourable wind and  
 “ smooth water gave us an opportunity of running into the cove. Here we  
 “ were to refit against the spring, in order to carry silk from RESHD to  
 “ ASTRACHAN. In the mean while I surveyed LANGAROOD cove and  
 “ river, and the coast to the northward as far as the river SEFIET ROAD,  
 “ along the bottom of the bay.

“ March the 25th, We left this place, but did not reach YERKIE road till  
 “ the 18th of April ; our passage having been obstructed by a great drift  
 “ of ice on the RUSSIAN coast. Here we performed 14 days quarantain, and  
 “ then sailed up to ASTRACHAN, where we saluted the governor with  
 “ seven guns. Whilst I had been refitting at LANGAROOD, captain EL-  
 “ TON went to MAZANDERAN accompanied by a PERSIAN officer. At  
 “ their return they took my ship carpenter and detained him on shore ; a  
 “ circumstance which excited the jealousy of the RUSSIANS. I delivered  
 “ a present to the governor consisting of oranges and lemons, with several  
 “ sorts of dried fruit, and 6 KARBOYS<sup>y</sup> of ISFAHAN wine ; all which  
 “ were immediately dispatched to court. I received orders to careen my  
 “ ship, and forthwith to return to GHILAN with the ENGLISH goods  
 “ which were arrived here. The 31st of May we weighed anchor and  
 “ on the 17th of June arrived in ENZELLE road, where we unloaded our  
 “ cargo. Here I found captain ELTON, who acquainted me that the  
 “ SHAH had ordered a survey of the south east parts of the CASPIAN  
 “ sea.”

The survey here alluded to by captain WOODROOFE was the discovery of BALKHAN, of which I have already acquainted my reader. I shall now proceed to give some account concerning the CASPIAN sea in general, partly from my own observation, and partly from the relation of others who had the same opportunity as my self, and were more accurate judges in regard to this matter.

<sup>y</sup> A PERSIAN measure.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*An account of the rising and falling of the CASPIAN sea.*

WHEN the RUSSIANS first navigated the CASPIAN, which is supposed to have been about the year 1556, they found only 5 feet water for near 9 leagues to the south and south east of CHETIRIE BOGORIE. PETER the GREAT, in his expedition against PERSIA in 1722, in the same distance found only 6 feet water, so that he was obliged to send his fleet of small vessels to some distance to take in their stores. Near CHETIRIE BOGORIE there is now 12 foot water; here it begins to be salt, as in the body of the sea, and not fresh as some have imagined. I never could discover that this sea abounds in fish; though captain WOODROOFE mentions that he had seen a few sturgeons off the island TOLEENA. As to what is recorded in ancient story concerning the monstrous fish of the CASPIAN, I imagine it to be fabulous. The VOLGA and the YAEIK indeed are well known to be immensely rich in fish; and it is said that there is great plenty of herrings, salmon, and sturgeon in KISLAR river and the KURA.

At some distance from the shore we in vain endeavoured to find a bottom with a line of 450 fathoms. The water has risen within 30 years very considerably, and made great inroads on the RUSSIAN side for about 20 wersts between the mouth of the VOLGA and ASTRACHAN, both on the east and west side of the great channel of this river. This has rendered the adjacent country extremely marshy. Nor has this sea been more indulgent to the PERSIANS, for it is confidently said that in the beginning of this century the land for about 8 ENGLISH miles on the side of LANGAROOD river was dry, and well inhabited. This I the more readily believe, as the tops of some houses are yet seen where the water is several feet deep. The same thing is reported of ASTRABAD, where the inhabitants affirm that within these 50 years the bay was fordable by asses, and now there is two fathom water. Captain WOODROOFE heard the same also at BALCHAN, so

that it is no ways to be doubted that the great rivers VOLGA, YAEICK, IAMBIA, SAMEUR, KURA, SEFIET ROOD, and others of less note have emptied immense quantities of water, which the sun has not exhaled : and this alarms the inhabitants round the coast.

The RUSSIANS affirm that in the lake KARABOGASKOY to the northward of BALKHAN, there is a subterraneous passage, which has sucked in the boats that attempted the discovery ; but this account is flatly denied by the OGURTJOY islanders, who served captain WOODROOFE as pilots, and assured him that the deepest part is but 8 fathoms. The lake is almost round, and near 8 leagues over, and as it abounds with excellent fish, they constantly keep two boats employed, so that they may well be supposed to know every part of it.

There is a tradition that the waters of the CASPIAN rise for 30 years, and for the succeeding 30 fall off again ; but neither can this account be reconciled. It seems to me that the same law of nature, which every where else produces a continual change of this part of matter, by exhaling it in vapours, which form rain, hail, and snow, not only to refresh the earth, but to supply the springs of rivers, must dispose of these waters here in the same manner. It seems likewise that as this mediterranean lake is the grand reservoir of the vast rivers, mountains, and tracts of land by which it is surrounded, it is also the reservoir from which these tracts are watered ; and from whence the rivers that fall into it are supplied. Doctor HALLEY, I am told, has proved by very nice experiments and calculations, that the vapour arising from the sea is more than sufficient to supply all the rivers that flow into it. And it is not, I think, improbable, that the reason why the waters of the CASPIAN are risen higher now than in the time of PETER the GREAT, is, that there have been more moderate summers since his time than before ; by which means, a less quantity of water has been exhaled.

There are a great number of rivers and rivulets which run into this sea, that are not laid down in the map (chap. XX.) and also many towns and

and villages, particularly on the western coast, which are likewise not mentioned, being thought immaterial; and the more so as the land-chart of the coast of the CASPIAN, which is introduced in the beginning of the second volume contains a more exact account of them, according to the present state of the country, than perhaps any map extant, as I shall have occasion to mention more fully hereafter,

## P A R T II.

The AUTHOR's VOYAGE from ASTRACHAN  
to PERSIA;

WITH

The SEVERAL ADVENTURES that befel him during  
his stay in that COUNTRY.

## C H A P. XXV.

*The author's voyage from ASTRACHAN to PERSIA. His arrival at LANGAROOD. Remarks on building ships on the CASPIAN. He continues his voyage to ASTRABAD bay, with an intent to proceed to MESCHED; and writes to Mr. ELTON to dissuade him from his military enterprises.*

IT is now time to resume my own narration, which captain WOODROOFE's journal, and the account of the CASPIAN, have so long interrupted. The 10th of November 1743. The 100 bales of raw silk were now sent up the VOLGA from YERKIE to ASTRACHAN and I impatiently expected the arrival of my EUROPEAN caravan, which accordingly was brought aboard on the 12th. The carriers had been so insolent, under the direction of a man not much higher in rank than themselves, that he was obliged to procure some COSSACKS to attend him to ZARITZEN. The measures I had happily pursued to bring this caravan in time for the season, proved effectual, whilst the other which I mentioned to have set out a week earlier, was frozen up in the VOLGA, and not brought to market till the next spring.

The governor of ASTRACHAN being alarmed at ELTON's proceedings, and finding that this new trade began to grow offensive to his court, thought proper to put captain WOODROOFE's ship under the same restrictions as those of the RUSSIAN merchants. In order to prevent jealousy, and com-

comply with the RUSSIAN regulations we had already given an account in ASTRACHAN of all the ship's stores; and there only we thought ourselves accountable: but it was now demanded of me to give also an account of those stores to the consul in GHILAN, and likewise a written obligation, that no BRITISH seaman should go into the SHAH's service, or give any instructions to his subjects. By this means we should be liable to be arrested at the pleasure of a RUSSIAN consul, though out of the RUSSIAN dominions. But as things were thus circumstanced, and as an order had been sent down to YERKIE not to suffer the ship to depart without this obligation from me; I resolved to sign it: which I did however in the following terms. "With a protest that I will not be accountable either in my person or estate, any longer than I shall voluntarily remain in PERSIA, or at ASTRACHAN; and no further than is consistent with the conditions of the treaty of commerce subsisting between the crowns of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA; because I conceive from the contents of the said treaty, that I am not subject or accountable to any RUSSIAN consul or minister, in any place out of the dominions of her imperial majesty."

I had no conception how we could carry on a trade under such conditions. It was indeed our duty as merchants, to support a good understanding with the RUSSIANS in PERSIA, as far as consistent with the freedom essential to the support of our own interest; but beyond this was in effect to give up our commerce. The RUSSIANS about ten years before had evacuated GHILAN, and as they were the only navigators of the CASPIAN, their merchants were jealous of our enjoying any privileges independent of the RUSSIAN jurisdiction: besides, they had acquired great influence in GHILAN during the confused state of affairs under NADIR's usurpation; so that upon the whole it appeared very plain to me, that the BRITISH CASPIAN trade in general was entirely against the inclinations of the RUSSIANS.

Matters being thus accommodated with the governor of ASTRACHAN, I only waited for a fair wind, which I was the more anxious about, fearing that some fresh difficulty might arise from the alarms which ELTON's under-

undertaking had given in RUSSIA. For though I covered over the wound for the present, yet it was not possible for me to heal it; especially as it broke out afresh upon every little incident.

The 19th of November. After so many days expectation I concluded that the wind and water would favour us at last; but I had not entertained the least suspicion of being arrested by the winter. We had incessant cold winds for several days from the north west, to such a degree that we were at length frozen up. This was a severe stroke which I was not prepared for, but there was no remedy: I turned my thoughts therefore how to act, supposing my voyage had been prevented; for the master of the ship said it was very uncertain whether we should be able to get away that year; but the next day, to my great joy, the ice broke up by the rising of the water, which at the same time brought a depth of 9 feet on the bar.

The 22d. We got out to sea with a fair wind; The 29th we were becalmed about ten leagues from the south west bottom. The stupendous mountains which appeared from thence struck me with great surprize; for although they were at a great distance, yet their magnitude far exceeded any thing I had ever seen in EUROPE.

The 3d of December I arrived in LANGAROOD bay. The master of the ship informed me that Mr. ELTON was removed from RESHD to LANGAROOD, to attend the maritime affairs in which he had engaged himself. I sent to acquaint him of my arrival; upon which he came on board, and conducting me ashore, gave me as polite a reception as the jealousy, which it was natural for him to entertain of me, would permit. I delivered to him a pair of pistols of exquisite workmanship, mounted with gold, and some other curious things which he had wrote for at the desire of ALI KOULI KHAN the SHAH's nephew: he was solicitous of cultivating a good correspondence with this person, apprehending that he would be one day king, which really happened four years afterwards.

Mr. ELTON's habitation at LANGAROOD was about 8 ENGLISH miles from the shore, in the midst of a wood surrounded with marshes, where

where the roads were hardly practicable. It stood near the foot of a lofty mountain open only to the sea; this intercepted the passage of the air, and rendered the place extremely unwholesome. As GHILAN<sup>2</sup> is generally esteemed the sink of PERSIA, so LANGAROOD is considered as the sink of GHILAN. But as this was the rainy season of the year, which rendered all parts equally moist, we were not sensible of any particular inconvenience. I spent seven days with this gentleman, during which interval we discoursed largely in relation to the CASPIAN trade. We had many pleasant designs for the improvement of it; but in general the prospect was gloomy.

NADIR SHAH had for some time formed a design of building ships on the CASPIAN; to this he was induced not only by the unsettled state of his country, but also by a particular inclination of conquering the LESGEE TARTARS, those brave mountaineers who had hitherto withstood the numerous forces of PERSIA. He saw plainly that it would be impossible to support an army in that quarter without a foreign supply of provisions, which must necessarily be brought to him by sea; and he could not be ignorant of the inconsistency of demanding ships of the RUSSIANS, whose interest it was to assist rather than oppress the LESGEEs, their mountains being so secure a barrier to RUSSIA. The TURKUMAN TARTARS on the eastern coast had by frequent incursions excited the SHAH's resentment; but their sandy and inhospitable country could be attempted only by water. The ambition of sharing the trade and sovereignty of the CASPIAN might also be a concurring inducement. This however is certain, that by his ambassadors whom he had sent a few years before into RUSSIA, he demanded ship-carpenters of that court. The answer was, that the empress had no other carpenters than foreigners, who had contracted to serve the government in RUSSIA, so that she had no authority to send them to any other country.

Indeed the PERSIANS now imagined, that Mr. ELTON did not really intend to build ships, but only to amuse the SHAH for the accomplishment

<sup>2</sup> This character alludes to the low marshy parts of it.

of some particular design. But ELTON was very much in earnest, and proved himself capable of surmounting the greatest difficulties. It is easy to conceive that the PERSIANS already groaning under oppressions, would be extremely reluctant in submitting to an additional burthen of taxes in regard to maritime affairs, of which they were intirely ignorant. The peasants were not only obliged to labour, but to furnish materials. Many were compelled to leave the cultivation of their rice and silk, which was familiar to them, in order to undertake this laborious and ungrateful employment. This induced numbers to run away almost as soon as they were brought to the new ship-yard; to which they were the more tempted, as the indiscretion of several of the PERSIAN officers was often the occasion of their being left without provisions. The punishment ordinarily inflicted on these poor wretches, was to be nailed by the ear to the stern-post of a ship, and after they had stood some hours, a motion being made at them with a battle-ax, they drew back their heads, and tore open the wound.

Mr. ELTON had found good timber in GHILAN and the adjacent provinces; but the badness of the roads made it hardly practicable to bring it to the spot. In MAZANDERAN there is iron ore; but they had no anchor-smiths, so that Mr. ELTON was obliged to fish for the anchors which the RUSSIANS during a course of years had lost on the coast. Sail-cloth he made of cotton, and cordage of flax; but his greatest want was that of carpenters. He had indeed collected a few INDIANS, with some RUSSIAN renegadoes, and had one ENGLISH ship-carpenter, whom he had inveigled to leave captain WOODROOFE's ship. Thus he contended with numerous and almost insuperable difficulties; but he had a spirit equal to the most arduous enterprize.

I found him however labouring under some anxious thoughts, which, I concluded, arose from his circumstances at that time. I expressed my fears of the consequences of his engagement; and though I did not then enter into them so deeply as afterwards; yet I pointed out many capital inconveniences which I apprehended.

It is no wonder that a man of an enterprising genius should expect to derive honour and reputation from the favour of a prince: and it is a well known property of ambition to despise difficulties in pursuit of a favourite object. It was easy to perceive the growing joy in Mr. ELTON's breast; but whatever he might imagine, the more intelligent PERSIANS looked on themselves as happy, in proportion to their obscurity and distance from the sovereign; and, on the other hand, they rated their misery according as necessity obliged them to seek their bread, and the precarious tenure of life, under a tyrant and usurper.

The accounts of travellers are full of the ingratitude and disregard, which the PERSIAN kings have always shewn to EUROPEAN christians, whom they consider as idolaters and unclean. To depend on the smiles even of a lawful king in PERSIA, is a situation by no means desirable; but under so oppressive an usurper as NADIR, must have proved extremely precarious. I wished however, for Mr. ELTON's sake, that all might go well; and what we wish we are sometimes apt to believe, even against general experience. I was the more easily deceived into a persuasion that the RUSSIAN jealousy might subside; because Mr. ELTON represented his conduct as subservient to the promotion of the trade.

The reader must have already observed, that one great inducement to open the CASPIAN trade, was the hopes of establishing a new branch from ASTRABAD to MESCHED, from whence Mr. ELTON conceived it practicable, to extend it to the northern cities of the MOGUL's empire. It now fell to my lot to attempt the execution of this design. I had brought with me the value of 5000 l. in woolen goods, for which I found there was no market in GHILAN, so that my presence there would be of little or no use. My curiosity therefore, which indeed was one design of my journey, induced me to go farther. Though Mr. ELTON had already procured the SHAH's express decree, ordering that safe conduct should be given us where-ever we might happen to travel within his dominions; still I was so far alarmed by the vicinity of the TURKUMAN TARTARS to ASTRABAD, that I did not chuse to venture till I had made the strictest

inquiry; the result of which was this, that the country was full of soldiers, and I might have what guard I pleased in case of danger.

The tempestuous weather which had detained me for some days now abating; the 10th of December I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and went down the creek. The ship was at anchor out of sight of land, and the wind blew very fresh; we had but a crazy boat rowed by PERSIANS, who are generally as unskilful as timorous, so that it was with reluctance I ventured to sea; but we soon got sight of the ship, and happily reached her.

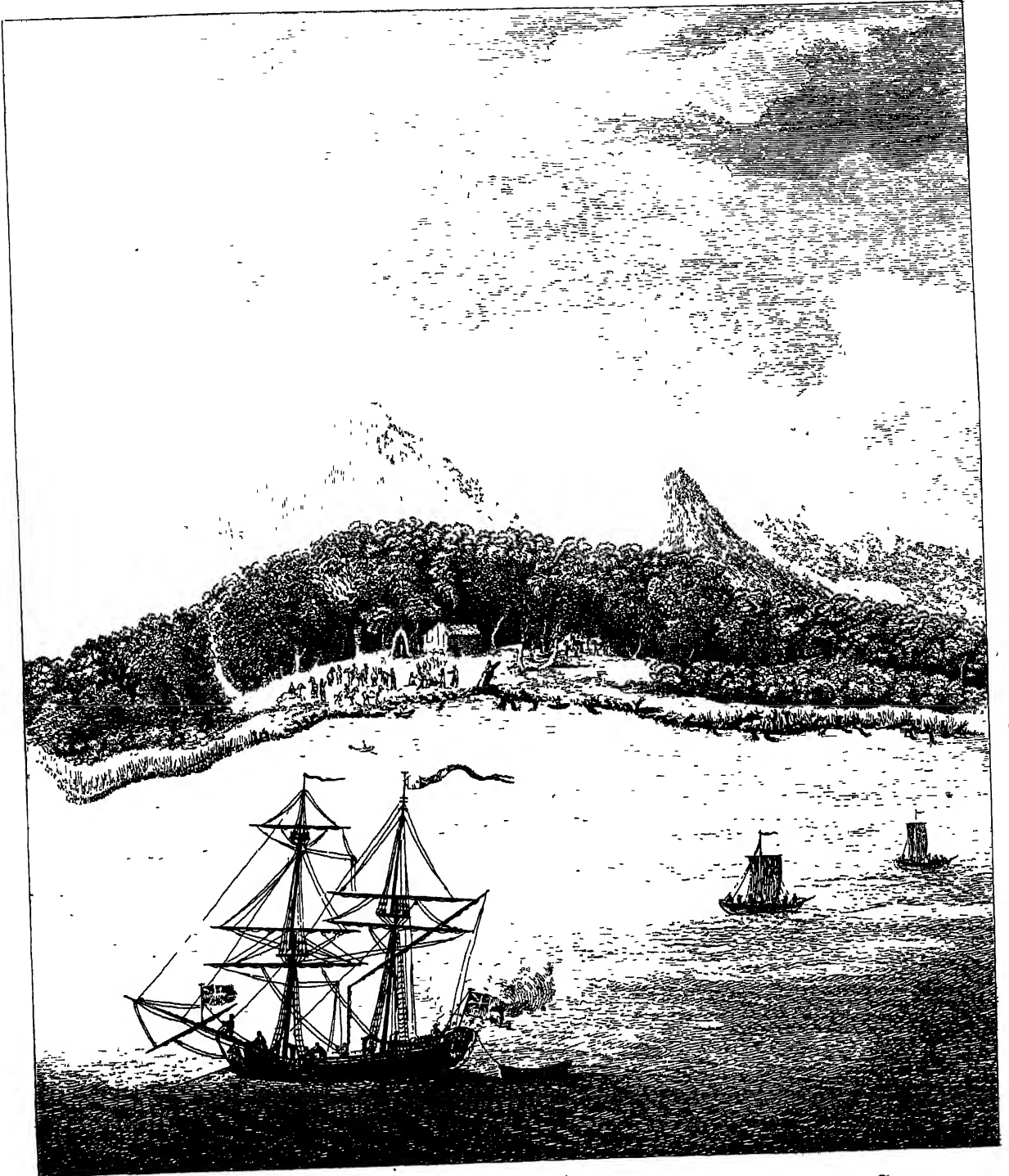
Immediately we weighed, and directed our course to ASTRABAD. As we steered eastward the sky brightened, and the air became gentle and warm, not unlike the weather there is sometimes about the same latitude in EUROPE, such as the PORTUGUESE call St. MARTIN's summer. We were four days in sight of the great mountain DEMOAN, which is said to be 30 leagues within land. At the distance of 4 or 5 leagues from the shore, we could distinguish it very plain rising in form of a pyramid. The 18th of December we arrived in ASTRABAD bay<sup>a</sup>, into which the river KORGAN runs, after washing the banks of the desert of TURKUMANIA. Here, as in other parts of the CASPIAN, the sea has made great inroads, so that in many places the trunks and whole bodies of trees lay on the shore, and make it as difficult of access, as its appearance is wild and inhospitable. I took the first opportunity of writing to Mr. ELTON, not only to inform him of my safe arrival, but to confirm by letter the sentiments I had delivered in our last discourse.

SIR,

ASTRABAD-BAY, December 1743.

“ I Have the pleasure to acquaint you of my having proceeded thus far,  
 “ I in consequence of the assurance you have given me that I should find  
 “ all necessary assistance in the execution of our design. I have inquired  
 “ of the people what kind of merchandize have ever been sent by this  
 “ rout to MESCHED? They answer, none; their caravans from hence  
 “ being composed only of devotees, who go to worship in that city. Whe-

<sup>a</sup> Often called KONDAGOSAR bay.



*Astrabad bay in the S.E. Corner of the Caspian.*

“ther the passage of such caravans is any argument for the safety of  
“merchandize, is what I cannot determine.

“I would fain say something to you on the painful subject of our  
“trade with regard to RUSSIA; but you understand it so well, and have  
“so just a concern for the interest of your country, as well as of your  
“employers, that I think it unnecessary to intrude any repetition of what I  
“have so earnestly recommended. It is an object of no small conse-  
“quence to preserve the favour of the SHAH; but we must not buy it at  
“so dear a rate as the resentment of the RUSSIANS. For all the oratory in  
“the world will not prevent their considering you as the chief instrument  
“of the SHAH’s maritime enterprize, which, in whatever light it may  
“appear to us, they will certainly deem injurious to their interest.

“You know very well what written obligations were required of me in  
“ASTRACHAN, and in what manner I was obliged to comply with them;  
“otherwise you had not seen this ship again on the PERSIAN coast: and  
“now I must show all possible regard to those engagements. It is my  
“heartly desire to reconcile these difficulties, and make all parties easy; but  
“to this purpose it is necessary you should act with me in concert. I am  
“sincerely,

SIR,

Your, &c.”

## C H A P. XXVI.

*The author arrives at ASTRABAD bay. The inhabitants alarmed, taking his ship to be a pirate. An account of ASTRABAD bay. He reaches ASTRABAD with his caravan.*

OUR ship was now anchored in three fathom water, at the distance of 1 ½ mile from the shore; when I dispatched an ARMENIAN servant to know if I might land my goods with safety: he soon returned, but without obtaining any information. We saw many fires in different places near the shore, and upon the mountains; these were made with an intent to alarm the inhabitants for fear of a surprize, as they took us for

pirates. The people on this coast having been often plundered by the OGURTJOY and RUSSIAN pirates, and seeing so large a vessel at anchor in their road, were under great apprehensions. The 20th, The weather continuing very delightful, I went ashore. The stumps of trees and shallows made it difficult for a long-boat to land nearer than 20 yards. The peasants being at length satisfied that we were friends, and come with merchandize, received us on the shore, and conducted us by many crooked paths through a thick wood to a small village. The people are swarthy, but their features regular, and in general they are inclined to a delicacy in their make. I sent my ARMENIAN interpreter with my compliments to MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, the governor of ASTRABAD, with orders also to provide necessaries for the fresh package of my cloth, for I intended to make proper bales for camel and horse carriage. After this I returned on board.

The 21st, The sun was risen above an hour before it was visible to us on board the ship; such was the stupendous height of the mountains. In the evening the ARMENIAN returned from the city, which is about 8 hours distance: The governor assured us of his protection; but charged me in a particular manner not to repose any confidence in the peasants in the neighbourhood of the coast. The dews here fall heavy; and the heat of the sun under the mountains is productive of colds and aguish pains. The 24th, I was visited by NASEER AGA, a PERSIAN officer, who had been recommended to me as a person of great probity and interest in that country: he made us an offer of his house at ASTRABAD, which I accepted, and assured him of the sense I had of my own happiness in the civility and kindness of so generous a friend. NASEER AGA was accompanied by MYRZA MAHOMMED, a grave old man, who having made a pilgrimage to MECCA, and spent a great part of his fortune in honour of MAHOMMED, was dignified with the title of HAHDGEE<sup>a</sup>; he had also a reputation for wisdom, and was often appealed to in controversies. He had been rich; but the common lot of the PERSIANS under the tyranny of NADIR, deprived him of his wealth. His office now was to collect taxes in the jurisdiction of the province.

<sup>a</sup> This title is given to all those who have made this pilgrimage.

The 25th, Being christmas-day, I excused the seamen from working at the package of cloth, and prevailed on them to hear prayers and a sermon. ENGLISH seamen, of all mankind, seem the most indifferent with regard to religious duties; but their indifference is not more the effect of want of reflection, than the irreligious carelessness of their leaders. It is not to be imagined they would fight less, if they prayed more; at least we find the praying warriors in CROMWELL's days fought as if they were sure of becoming saints in heaven. Certain it is our seamen do not entertain the same impressions of religion as the common run of labouring people.

The next day our ship was in no small danger of being burnt. About eighty pounds of raw cotton, intended for the secure package of the bales, was laid in the steerage. By the carelessness of one of the seamen it took fire, and was with difficulty extinguished. I was asleep in the cabin, and almost suffocated with the smoke; our danger was the greater, as the fire was about the powder-chest: however it pleased providence that no harm was done, except burning the hands and faces of some of the sailors, which the application of burnt oil soon removed. At night the woods on the mountains took fire, and the wind feeding the flame, made a frightful blaze, which extended several miles. The blast came off the shore, inasmuch that our butter ran like oil. There had been a bright sun, and no rain, for twenty days, so that it was with difficulty the peasants diverted the current of the flame, and saved their villages. This accident was occasioned by a custom of burning the rushes on the coast, with a view to destroy the insects that breed in them, and to make a free passage for the air.

The different currents which meet in the road, and the eddies of wind obliged us often to new lay our anchors; in other respects this harbour is very safe. The 28th, Having finished the package of 116 bales, we prepared to go on shore. My ARMENIAN interpreter now began to express his fears of the danger we should be exposed to in our intended journey to MESCHED. He had already, in some former rebellions, been robbed in that city of goods to a considerable value, and partly from age, and partly from constitution, was of a timorous disposition. What he said made there-

therefore but little impresson upon me, especially as he had been silent till now, and did not point out any particular danger. The 29th, **HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED**, who had already offered his services, received orders from the governor of the province to supply us with a guard, and to entertain me in his house. Accordingly we landed the bales, and without waiting the uncertain arrival of the governor, who had intimated a design of visiting the ship, I resolved to visit him first.

The 2d of January 1744, Hazy weather, and other incidents, prevented the prosecution of our journey till this day. We pitched our tent on the shore, and collected all the people who were to convey the caravan. The **HAHDGEE** sent me an invitation to come to his house, and his son who came with the message, assured me in a complimentary strain, that his father would kill him, if he returned without me. However, I excused myself till the next day, resolving to remain in my tent. One of the company sung an extempore song, consisting mostly of welcomes, and fulsome commendations, intended as a greater mark of civility to us as strangers and **EUROPEANS**. When this was done, they eat their **PLEO**, which they finished in a much shorter time than a table can be laid for a polite entertainment in **EUROPE**. As they had broken timber in great abundance, they made large fires, round which they danced, and seemed to be in high joy. The evening being advanced, they performed their exercises of devotion. The 3d the **SHACKALLS**<sup>b</sup> in the woods bark'd and howl'd so much during the night, that it is very difficult for persons unused to such music to receive the refreshment of sleep. In the morning we broke up our little camp, the **HAHDGEE**'s brother, and his two sons, attended us with several horses, of which I took only one for myself, and another for my interpreter. The number of carriers exceeding that of the loads, I could not restrain them from seizing them, in as hostile a manner as **HUNGARIAN HUSARS** would have pillaged the baggage of a **MARSHAL** of **FRANCE**: and indeed I was for some time at a loss, if they did not mean something of that nature in good earnest. From the shore to the high road there are many narrow paths, with broken and decayed bridges, and se-

<sup>b</sup> Commonly called **JACKALLS**, which resemble foxes. It is said the barking of these animals once alarmed the whole **RUSSIAN** army in **GILAN**.

veral ditches made by the flowing of the water from the mountains. In about eight hours we arrived safe at the city, the carriers making but one stop on the way to perform their devotions. The first object which struck my eyes upon entering the gates, was a large spot of ground appropriated to the burial of the dead.

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C H A P. XXVII.

*The behaviour of the governor to the author at ASTRABAD. Description of the PERSIAN manner of smocking. The substance of several conversations with persons of rank in that city.*

THE 4th of January, HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, and several others, came to visit me, and advised me to sell part of my caravan in that city. This was not practicable in any quantity, nor consistent with my design of going to MESCHED. The 5th, As I had not yet provided an equipage necessary to make a proper appearance before the governor, NASEER AGA, in whose house I was lodged, lent me a horse handsomely caparisoned, and insisted on my taking his servants as well as my own, to attend me. The present I had prepared for the governor, consisting of several cuts of fine cloth, and loaves of sugar, was laid on a large tea-board, and carried in before me. He was attended by several persons of the best distinction in the city, particularly by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG son of the late FATEY ALI KHAN, MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, and SADOQ AGA; the two last were the sons of KHANS in favour with the SHAH. They all rose at my coming in, and desired me to take my place; but observing I could not accommodate myself to their manner, the governor ordered a chair, and bid me welcome to PERSIA; adding this hyperbolical compliment, that the city of ASTRABAD was now mine to do what I pleased with it. I returned my thanks, and assured him of the great satisfaction I enjoyed in being received into the protection of a person of his character and authority: that I apprehended this was the first attempt the ENGLISH merchants had ever made to convey merchandize into the interior parts of PERSIA by this rout; and I was therefore the more concerned to provide with all possible attention

tion for a quick and secure passage at an easy expence: that he knew very well the SHAH had been pleased to grant the ENGLISH merchants the most favourable decrees in relation to their trade in all parts of his dominions, and it depended on him to see his majesty's pleasure executed on this occasion. I then demanded of him if the passage to MESCHED was safe? He answered in the affirmative, and that I might be assured nothing in his power should be neglected to render it so; and that he would send four choice soldiers with me, who should be bound for the safe delivery of our caravan at MESCHED. I thanked him, and begging to be honoured with his commands, took my leave.

Common gratitude now called on me to pay my respects to NASEER AGA, of whose humanity and politeness I had received such signal proof. This old man had been a companion of NADIR, when he was the chief of a party of robbers in the neighbouring mountains. He now seemed too good a man for NADIR's purpose, and the mediocrity of his fortune and ambition had secured him from most of those calamities which were common even to favourites. His hoary beard gave a venerable air to his person, and a manly cheerfulness, joined to an amiable assurance, graced his words. There is a reverence due to age, which by long experience frequently compensates for the loss of juvenile endowments; whilst health, good nature, and strength of understanding, produce many of the social enjoyments of life. The old man received me with great marks of kindness, and sent for those master-carriers, who might probably engage to convey my caravan to MESCHED. Here I first received a proof of that cunning and equivocating disposition, which distinguishes the modern PERSIANS, and was a prologue to that tragic scene, wherein I had soon after so great a share. It was impossible to fix them to any thing; and finding they trifled, I took my leave for that time.

The 7th, I was visited by several of the principal men of that place, who came out of curiosity, or perhaps with a dark design. They made their compliment by putting their hand on their breast, and bowing their head. Those who are more familiar, press the palm of your hand between the palms of both theirs, and then raise them to their forehead, to  
express

express the high and cordial respect they have for your person. Most of my visitors behaved with an air of importance, and spoke very little: after sitting and smoking the caallean for a few minutes, they took their leave.

The PERSIANS are extremely fond of tobacco; some of them draw the smoke in so prodigious a quantity, that it comes out of their noses. The caallean used in smoking is a glass vessel resembling a decanter, and filled about three parts with water. Their tobacco is yellow, and very mild, compared with that of AMERICA; being prepared with water and made into a ball, it is put into a silver utensil not unlike a tea-cup, to which there is a tube affixed that reaches almost to the bottom of the vessel. There is another tube fixed to the neck of the vessel above the water; to this is fastened a leathern pipe, through which they draw the smoke; and as it passes through the water, it is cool and pleasant. The PERSIANS for many ages have been immoderately fond of the caallean. SHAH ABAS the GREAT made a law to punish this indulgence with death; but many chose to forsake their habitations, and to hide themselves in the mountains, rather than be deprived of this insatiable enjoyment. Thus this prince could not put a stop to a custom, which he considered not only as unnatural and irreligious, but also as attended with idleness and unnecessary expence.

I entertained some of my guests according to their own manner with sweet meats, of which they took a little, and gave the remainder to their servants; these are often so numerous that a treat of this kind will cost 10 or 12 crowns. This custom, absurd and expensive as it appeared to me, had something of the air of hospitality in the person entertaining. I could not but consider it as much less inconsistent than that which prevails in some parts of EUROPE, where almost every man's servant is bribed by his master's guest, for doing his duty; where every guest is a slave to the servant, by submitting to a compulsive tax, which even the sovereign has no authority to impose; where every one complains of the abuse, and, as a proof of the slavery, is obedient to it, except a few, who having been free in countries of slavery, will not be slaves in a free country.

Is it not absurd to the highest degree that the greatest lord of the land, shall meanly look on, and see his servants, rapacious by his authority, wring from the hard hands even of peasants, their slender support? Is it not absurd that gentlemen of small fortunes should be guilty of the folly of giving away their money as if they were rich; or be obliged to confess to menial servants that they are not rich; or exclude themselves from the company of their opulent friends, whose houses, even where there has been an appearance of a generous invitation, are oftentimes nothing more than disagreeable and expensive inns? Is it not absurd, in fine, that a strange corruption of manners should induce almost every master to contract with his servant, that the greatest part of his wages shall be paid him by his neighbours; though his own expences are by this means not only increased, but also rendered impertinent and vexatious; whilst servants, on the other hand, become extravagant, in consequence of these preposterous revenues, and their morals spoiled by the folly of their masters?

To return to my story. Having agreed at length upon a price for 17 camels and 62 horses at  $7\frac{1}{4}$  crowns per bale, I advanced to the carriers a small part of the money, as earnest. But I soon found that it is a frequent practice for the PERSIANS to recede from their agreements; and when any decision can be obtained in such cases, the verdict is usually given in favour of those who appear to have the worse side, or have engaged to execute more than is convenient for them to perform: so that I could have but very little dependance on this contract.

My good friends NASEER AGA and the HAHDGEE made me a visit, and brought several other persons with them. Their business was to enquire if I believed JESUS CHRIST to be the son of GOD; intimating this to be the persuasion of CHRISTIANS, and without waiting long for an answer, they pronounced me an idolater. My interpreter, who was himself a CHRISTIAN, was a little startled, and asked me what answer he should make. I told him, that I was not come there to enter into religious controversies with MAHOMMEDANS; who without doubt would remain in their own faith, as I hoped to do in mine: however if he pleased he might gratify their curiosity, and tell them that I believed JESUS

SUS CHRIST to be the son of GOD; leaving him to give what further account of my religion, he might think proper upon the principles mentioned in the next chapter, being the result of frequent discourses and reflections to which this enquiry gave occasion.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Idolatry being imputed to the author, he attempts to defend christianity. His notions of religion.*

TO form an adequate notion of religion we must begin with ADAM. GOD, amidst the boundless glories of his creation, made man, compounded of an animal body and a rational soul. Whether we trace him to his original, or consider him in his present circumstances, he must have been taught what is necessary to him, in regard to the great ends of providence in his constitution. Where his knowledge ceases is not obvious; but what the proper objects of his powers are, is plainly deducible from this, that he is lost in a labyrinth, when he attempts to challenge the divine artificer, why his workmanship is so compounded, or by what secret laws this union was made so wonderful and amazing in all it's parts?

It is evident to us that for ends known to the eternal wisdom, and in some degree obvious to us, he made freedom essential to human nature. By an almost universal consent of mankind, it is acknowledged, that, in consequence of this freedom, man has swerved from the original law of his nature, and by following the dictates of his inferior faculties in preference to his reason, he has consequently disobeyed the divine law. His nature being thus corrupted, he could no longer enjoy the happiness adapted to his original frame. When men talk as if they had two natures, the one pure, the other corrupted, the doctrine serves only to perplex the enquiry. We know, and to our sorrow feel, that our nature, our ONE NATURE, as it came out of the hands of it's maker, is become corrupted: nor can we with consistency say, that any vice is natural, without injuring the author of nature, who certainly intended the universal happiness of his creatures. But vice unde-

niably produces misery, and consequently is not natural to man. Perhaps there is no word used in so loose and indefinite a sense as that of nature. To say a thing is natural, according to nature, or agreeable to the course of nature, must certainly convey the same idea, and are terms which ought by no means to be used without a sense of him who is the first cause, and has the course and government of nature in his hands.

The notion we ought to form of nature at large, with regard to the disposition made by one supreme and intelligent being, must be intirely analogous to that rule of government which can alone support the moral excellence and dignity of HUMAN nature ; which is plainly the end of christianity. What man, with the greatest stretch of human reason, can suggest to himself so admirable a plan of government ; or such noble motives to action, as that ruling principle, the love of one supreme and self-existent being, the great creator and supporter of all things ?

The love of man is next in dignity to that of god, and in the operations of the mind must precede, as being the scale by which we ascend to heaven. Man considered as the most excellent work of the visible world, the express image of his maker, and the heir of immortal happiness, must ever demand the highest attention. How little in value is the material compared with the intellectual world ? The voice of god, as well as reason, proclaim the vast superiority. And what are all the externals of majesty, what the charms of beauty, or the pride of wealth, but the enjoyments of a moment ? But the love of man is commensurate with eternity, nor is he less an object of this love, for having deviated from his original perfection ; since all men are the same ; and this seems to have constituted, as a counterpoise to our corruption, a passion as strong as any in the human breast ; I mean compassion. Can we consider god, or man, in any view not consistent with this principle, without deviating from nature ?

If the nature of man is to be rational, and if reason teaches that obedience to his maker is his highest felicity, it must also teach, that disobedience is his greatest misery. That man has passions and appetites  
which

which oppose reason, is obvious ; but it is equally true, that the nature of these, in the great order of things, is to be subservient to reason. Our eyes were certainly given us to see ; but our reason was as surely given us that we might shut those eyes when the object is dangerous either to our moral or animal nature ; nor can there be any plea of ignorance against this doctrine : for the almighty has certainly written a law upon men's minds ; and whatever his wisdom required should be done, exclusive of this mental law, he has, at different periods of time, made known to mankind.

If God has originally taught man a law with respect to his conduct, and by making him a social being, continued to him the MEANS of that KNOWLEDGE ; it is not natural for man to be ignorant of that which his maker requires of him : On the contrary, it was an unnatural rebellion against the almighty that introduced the ignorance which existed before the coming of a saviour ; a state of ignorance at that time consequently was not the state of nature : but more indubitably it is NOT so NOW.

Before the promulgation of the gospel, men who walked by the light which they then had, could not be accountable for more : even before the JEWISH dispensation, in consequence of the knowledge men first had of a supreme being, they preserved some notions of one God, and of moral duties, as productive of happiness, and suitable to the dignity of their natures ; and this I apprehend we generally call natural religion. However we do not usually call that the religion of nature, which hardly appears to be any religion at all, or at best is only a rule injurious to the society. But supposing the common term NATURAL RELIGION to be applicable in any degree to the most ignorant savages, that must be the worst religion, (for here there may be degrees in this general notion) which is furthest removed from the happiness of the society. Man, who is a social creature, acts unnaturally in proportion as he neglects the preservation of society. This notion will also lead us to the great doctrine of christianity, and the beneficence of the supreme being, demonstrated in that dispensation, so powerfully operating with the original plan of moral government.

Now

Now let an unprejudiced MAHOMMEDAN be rightly informed what the precepts of christianity teach, and examine if the practice of the christian religion is not the state most agreeable to the true nature of man, as deducible from his constitution. And if the christian religion is agreeable to virtue, or rather the true standard of it, we are reduced to the necessity of acknowledging, either that both the christian religion and virtue in general are unnatural, or that vice is unnatural; unless, with regard to nature, we confound the distinction of virtue and vice, and make them one and the same thing. Nothing is plainer than this doctrine; but I believe nothing has done more harm to the cause of religion than inattention to it; for by imputing vice to NATURE, which is commonly done, we enervate that detestation which arises in the human breast upon the mention of those things which we denominate UNNATURAL. Methinks I ought to blush at the indignity which I offer to the common sense of my reader; but when he considers that many who mean well, and think clearly in most of the concerns of life, are notwithstanding extremely biassed in their judgments in this point; he will think an apology needless.

The fallacy seems to lie in this, that nature, and the corruption of nature are for the most part confounded in men's ideas. If by nature we mean the pure essence and true quality of a thing, we do not mean the corruption of that thing; more than we mean vinegar, when we talk of wine. The corruption of nature is indeed repugnant to virtue; yet if we attend to our own make and constitution, we shall soon learn, in a necessary degree, how and in what instances our nature is corrupted, and equally discover a power to war with that corruption; and, in proportion as we triumph over it, we are restored to our original state of freedom, that is, of nature uncorrupted. The opinion the MAHOMMEDANS have of this corruption, which sullied the mind of man, seems to agree with that of the christians; but this doctrine, however important, is not familiar to the generality of men. I conceive it to bear a strong allusion to the state of one, who, by some accident, becomes lunatick, and entails this infirmity upon his children. In this case indeed a man may not be answerable;

swerable; but in the case of our first parents they became accountable, because they were free agents. If, in succeeding generations, we were not exactly in the same circumstances as our first parents; we still acted against the light which our reason suggested, or against those revelations which, at different ages of the world, have been confirmed to us by the miraculous interposition of divine providence.

By this corruption of nature, the passions, which were originally designed to assist reason, have, as experience teaches us, rebelled against it, and subjected all the sons of ADAM to the same punishment as their first progenitor: Now can we suppose that infinite goodness should suffer so glorious a part of the creation to perish in this unnatural state? The common notion of mankind in all ages and countries is, that a divine instructor has been sent to them. The christian says, that "as by one man, sin and death came into the world; so by one man," the great prophet and lawgiver now in question, "life and immortality were restored." The MAHOMMEDANS ask, why the great lord of the universe should send his son into the world in form of a man? To argue upon principles deduced from the reason of things, may we not say that truth, in the abstract, thus became an object of sense; and that the deity brought himself to the standard of human capacities? We saw, we heard, we felt the god in his human nature. He was a man as well as a god; a man, such as we are, sin only excepted: He rejoiced and wept, was glad and sorrowful: He eat, and drank, and slept: He had his friendships and affections: He gave us a law as to men; and, as a man, he set us an example. But the christian further reduces the matter to this issue: God saw good to take this method to restore mankind, and therefore it must be right. If the MAHOMMEDANS yet asks, why it should be so; and still applies to finite capacities to judge of infinite wisdom? What can you do more than question him, why it should not be so? Ask him, if he thinks it too much or too great a thing for the almighty? Bid him behold the wonders of the creation, and observe every part of nature replete with amazing art, and proclaiming his incomprehensible goodness and wisdom. Is man inferior to these? Do we understand the laws of his

his government, or the nature of that power by which he supports the material world? Is the heir of immortality not equal in dignity to this inanimate system?

If the tree is known by its fruits, the goodness of a religion must be discovered by its effects, and its consistency with reason; the testimony of those who oppose it concurring in any material point, or proving insufficient to invalidate it. The PAGANS, the JEWS, the MAHOMMEDANS acknowledge that such a man appeared in the world as JESUS CHRIST; they dispute his divinity, and many of his glorious acts; but for this they are obliged to have recourse to low evasions and puerile subtleties; still they ascribe many wonderful works to him. And lastly, though they do not acknowledge his crucifixion, they say he was conveyed away in a miraculous manner, and a person like him put in his place. The MAHOMMEDAN also verifies the prediction, which is closely connected with the belief of christianity, and treats the JEW as a persecutor of the true prophet, whilst the christian deplores his blindness.

Among other corroborating proofs the christian urges the prophecies concerning the total dissolution of the JEWISH government, and the destruction of that nation, once the favourite people of GOD. The JEWS were long the sole depositaries of those writings which promise and point out the time of the coming of JESUS CHRIST; but deny that time to be accomplished: So far they believe in the MESSIAH. The PAGAN world received christianity, though it was so greatly repugnant to their established opinions, and the corruption of nature, that we ought to conclude it could not have prevailed, had any less than a divine power directed it. Christianity is the proper religion of mankind; we say it is as old as the creation, because ordained by GOD from the beginning. It is true, JESUS CHRIST was born only 1744 years ago; but how long have the prophets of old foretold his appearance: One of the most remarkable was above 700 years before; and this speaks of him in terms of the greatest honour, viz. "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, "WONDERFUL, COUNSELLOR, THE MIGHTY GOD, THE EVERLASTING  
"FATHER,

“FATHER<sup>c</sup>, THE PRINCE OF PEACE.” And the short history of him is this: “God was manifested in the flesh, justified by the spirit, seen of angels, believed on in the world, received up into glory, and in him are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.” That his birth was miraculous, is confessed even by the MAHOMMEDANS; for they say he was conceived of a virgin by the smell of a rose. To grant there was such a person, and that he was thus conceived, is being half a christian, with regard to the supernatural birth of CHRIST.

But as his birth was above nature, so was his whole life. MAHOMMED came to extirpate all who opposed him with fire and sword. CHRIST came with the meekness of a child, to extend his mercy to all mankind. The power which he employed was from heaven. The means which he used were of so different a nature from any thing merely human, that granting he lived and died, and that his religion does exist, is a strong argument of the divinity of that power, by which he established such a religion. He suffered an ignominious death as a common malefactor; yet has his doctrine been established on that suffering, and spread over the earth. MAHOMMED supported his schemes of religious government on the principles of worldly power; but our prophet says, “Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly;” and upon this principle was his whole life conducted.

The MAHOMMEDANS, you say<sup>d</sup>, consider us as idolaters; you will not convince them of the contrary: for that would be in effect to convert them to christianity. Tell them at least that ours is a good religion: that one great article of it is, to pray for them and for all mankind. That the sum of our law is, “to do as we would be done by; to visit the fatherless and the widow, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.” Tell them that we adore one only GOD, the supreme lord and father of all things, in which they will grant we are no idolaters; but that indeed we pray to him through the merits of his son, to assist us with his holy spirit, to obey his laws, or to forgive the breach of them, upon con-

<sup>c</sup> The father of the age to come, according to some learned divines.

<sup>d</sup> The INTERPRETER.

dition of our sincere repentance. In this we speak as conceiving a difference, and ascribing to each those offices, which our revelation warrants, without presuming to understand in what the union and divisibility consists. This is the mystery of the christian religion, which, by the exercise of faith, attributes all the mercy that the utmost stretch of human reason can ascribe to GOD; and all the worth and dignity that can be imputed to man; to be at once demonstrated by the deity in his taking the human form, when he appeared upon the earth. Whenever we contemplate this amazing instance of the divine conduct, it raises the mind to heaven from whence it is derived.

That there is such a thing as faith, or the evidence of things not seen, nor comprehended, is common to mankind of all religions, and in all countries. Is it strange that GOD will not condescend to be the object of our REASON only? He requires FAITH, and imputes it to us as a virtue; he requires this highest reason of the soul, which is a RESIGNATION of the whole man; all POSSIBLE RESIGNATION to him as an incomprehensible GOD, who is the sovereign disposer of all things, in a manner as far above our conception as his infinite perfections are superior to the narrow bounds of human capacities.

That JESUS CHRIST is GOD, that is, divine in nature, is, I think, very clear from the writings which contain the oracles of our religion; and better had it been for the christian world, if the matter had rested there; and no attempt made to explain that which is confessedly inexplicable. For though faith is founded in reason, as it necessarily must be, whilst reason is the only medium by which we comprehend any moral truth; yet it is superior to reason. The doctrine of the trinity is by no means contradictory to reason, unless it is repugnant to reason to assent to that which is delivered on divine authority, because we happen not to comprehend the things so delivered.

As to the term PERSONS of the godhead, and TRINITY, commonly used by christians; if the oracle of the christian faith is not fabulous, we must ascribe the divine attributes to THREE, under the distinctions of FATHER, SON,

SON, and HOLY GHOST; and if mankind have thought proper to use a word to express the idea, why not that of TRINITY? If the almighty is omnipotent, and we confess our faculties utterly incapable of comprehending his power, let us prostrate ourselves in humble adoration of the incomprehensible nature of this ONE supreme!

If GOD is incomprehensible, what religion can there be without some part of it mysterious? The MAHOMMEDAN must deny the being of a GOD, or confess him infinite in justice as well as mercy; but does he understand how these attributes exist, and are compatible in one being? We acknowledge the incomprehensibility of GOD, and therefore there may be a division as well as union in the divine nature. Christians plainly infer such a union and division from their scriptures, which cannot be made consistent on any other principles. Is it not then folly to distract our thoughts on the subject? Is it not enough that we acknowledge one supreme GOD the father of all beings; that we confess the divine nature and mission of the MESSIAH, by whom the almighty made the world, who is the king, the lawgiver, the redeemer, and the savior, and will be the judge of mankind; and that we also acknowledge the powers ascribed to the holy ghost, the operative spirit of that one GOD?

We see the reason of mankind every day acquiesce in things superior to it's comprehension in secular concerns. Many things in common life appear to us as contradictions till we understand them. Our condition does not permit us to know every thing; it is against the laws of our nature, and consequently a crime to attempt it; thus where our understanding is puzzled in the investigation of the things which belong to GOD, we should pay our adoration and submission to the great author of nature, and place our humble and firmest confidence in him.

The disciples of MAHOMMED, and of almost every other religion in the world, believe in things not only beyond their comprehension, but unimportant to the great ends of human life and immortality. The faith in question is of the greatest moment; for if JESUS is not the son of GOD, the fundamental principle of the christian religion is false; but if

this belief is derived from the authority of GOD himself, who therefore accepts it as a grateful offering to him, we ought to hold it dearer than life.

Simplicity of heart, which is essential to christianity, teaches men what analogy there is between this faith and the humility which the christian religion so strongly inculcates; but infidelity is the offspring of pride. Faith humbles the arrogance of men, and prevents them from deifying, that is, in effect, from abusing their own reason. The corruption of our nature is never so conspicuous as in pride; than which nothing can be more destructive of our happiness.

Pride first divided the christian world, and still supports the division, and I believe the priests themselves will grant, that had some of their fraternity been half as busy to restrain men's curiosities in the mysterious parts of the christian religion, as to attempt the explanation of them, religion might have been more simple, and consequently might have produced the great end of it, by means the most easy and familiar: but this complaint will appear absurd when it is considered, that the mistakes of priests<sup>d</sup> bear but a small proportion to those of the laity. If morality is the basis of the christian religion, and a consistent faith the support of it; where are these better taught than in ENGLAND? Of all human compositions of these latter ages of the world, whether for purity and elegance of language, force of argument, or warmth of devotion, what exceeds the sermons which have been published by our clergy? That they are not more read, is not the fault of priests, nor will it be their fault if they do not produce the harvest which no doubt is intended should be gathered in heaven.

To return, it must be manifest to men of enquiry, that the world remained in ignorance for many ages; and religion consisted in forms and empty ceremonies. A revelation was expected, and both the CHRISTIANS and MAHOMMEDANS say it is come: we see what the different fruits of it are. Was there ever a doctrine delivered to mankind before

<sup>d</sup> IN ENGLAND.

that of CHRIST, which pointed out the true path of happiness, and the end for which they were designed? The christian religion has the most evident mark of a divine original by the exalted sentiments and sublime love it inculcates; by its close connexion with the general good of mankind, as social, rational, and accountable beings. It is an argument which cannot be repeated too often: what greater love can we conceive than for a man to die for his friend? But CHRIST suffered an ignominious death for his enemies, and made that death effectual even to his persecutors, if they repented and obeyed his laws. For his death was a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, even for the MAHOMMEDANS. Could a GOD die for less than a world? He prepared an immortality for all mankind. But his counsels are inscrutable, and we know not what degree of evidence resisted by men, renders them accountable. But it seems agreeable to the common notions of mankind concerning the goodness of GOD, that this perfect sacrifice once made, compensated for the imperfection of the human nature, and the deviation from its original purity; so that man becomes accountable only in proportion to his rebellion against this divine law.

Under this glorious dispensation, the innocence and simplicity of a child is best adapted to learn, and to receive, so plain, so intelligible a law; which exhorts men with the strongest and most persuasive eloquence, to forsake the paths of perdition, and to be happy. The sentiments which christianity inspire, are so abstracted from this world, and from a weak and vicious selfishness, that it is impossible to consider them with an attentive and unprejudiced mind, without being convinced of their reasonableness, and struck with the deepest sense of gratitude and resignation.

Even MAHOMMED understood the excellence of the christian religion, when he adopted his precepts of justice and charity from the gospel. But though the MAHOMMEDANS entertain the highest notions of the deity, humanly speaking, it will be difficult to reconcile them to christianity, on account of their sensual gratifications. The christian religion fixes the boundaries between the animal and rational part, and is calculated to preserve both. It regards the delights of the mind, and the charms

charms of social converse, to which the MAHOMMEDANS in their commerce with women are almost strangers: for their false notions of religion also lead them to violate the common rights of humanity, by making slaves of one half of the species.

Christianity is indeed a religion of self-denial, much more than is generally imagined; but it is a self-denial which dignifies and improves human nature; a self-denial that has every mark which reason can suggest, or revelation warrant, of that rule of life and human conduct, which can restore man to the original perfection of his nature; or effect that which shall compensate for the deficiency, at the great day of accounts, when TIME shall be swallowed up in ETERNITY.

As every thinking man in this island \* seems to have something in his notions of religion peculiar to himself, it may be objected, that I who have been endeavouring to vindicate christianity with regard to the imputation of idolatry, and to establish my own system of faith, as founded in the reason of things, as well as in revelation, have been singular in making no mention of grace. But to this I answer, that when men act obediently to the divine law, not only because it is good in itself, but also because it is commanded by GOD; both motives co-operating, I think they will, humanly speaking, produce a habit of mind, fit for the reception of that grace, which I acknowledge to be the more immediate assistance of GOD; that assistance which supports, and cherishes, and enables man to persevere in his obedience. From hence I conclude, that faith and good works act reciprocally on each other, neither being effectual without the other to the great end of our being. This, I conceive, may be easily deduced from the nature of the human mind; from the common measure by which we judge of things, and from the notion of religion in general. Christians who, on one side, ascribe all efficacy to good-works; whilst others, if possible, more inconsistent, imagine faith only to be essential, seem to fall extremely short of the mark. To adopt the principles of both with the same zeal as they plead for one only,

is, I apprehend, to be a christian, if those principles produce their natural fruits.

And let men dispute ever so long concerning human nature, and all its various connexions, it must come to this, that so long as we retain our reason, we must acknowledge a first cause, or, in other words, that there is a GOD, and consequently that he made us what we are; and if he is infinite in wisdom, he made us RIGHT. Men who think it of importance to employ their reason about a future state; or endeavour to understand their own make; and the end to which they were intended will discover, that the constitution of our moral nature, our condition with respect to externals, and our religion as christians, have all a most amazing analogy.

In other words, let him who entertains the least doubt concerning the great truths of christianity, do himself the justice to observe how exactly analogous the law of CHRIST is with the common dictates of humanity; with every generous passion of the mind; with every sentiment which the human breast can form that is truly great and noble; he will then see, what a state of unmixed happiness would be restored to mankind, was this law universally revered and practised. The glorious system of ethics delivered by our saviour on the mount, is calculated to answer all the exigencies of our temporal condition; whilst the main scope and design of it is to prepare us for a happy termination of it: and since death is the unavoidable condition of life, and absorbs all lesser considerations; an entire reconciliation to it, on the principles of a rational hope of immortality, ought to be the great end of all human actions, and of all the thoughts and devices of the human heart.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*Several conversations with the PERSIANS on different subjects. The tragical history of prince BECKOWITZ. Principal events till the breaking out of a rebellion in ASTRABAD.*

TO return to my narrative. The PERSIANS often took particular notice of the air of my countenance, perhaps imagining that I had some apprehensions of the approaching danger. I told them that my temper disposed me to be thoughtful; but if I understood their language, and could converse without an interpreter, I should probably take a share in every part of their discourse. I then enquired for news, particularly in regard to the rebellions on foot in remote parts of the kingdom, and if it was true that the LESGEEES had taken DERBEND, as was reported. This was touching them on a very tender string, and NASEER AGA answered hastily, "We do not talk of those things." The answer however made no other impression on me, than that he was restrained by some prudential reason.

On the 8th. The carriers pretended they must have camels as well as horses to convey my caravan, and demanded money of me, to be advanced them on account, that they might go among the neighbouring TURKUMAN TARTARS to buy camels; but I did not chuse to comply with their request. Other expedients were also made use of, as if intended purposely to delay my departure. Some of the townsmen again demanded of me to open my bales, and sell them some pieces of cloth; but this by no means suited my purpose, and I rather chose to make several of them presents of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  gaz<sup>a</sup> of cloth, which is the measure they usually take for a coat. ABDALLAH BEG, the governor's brother, was the most importunate for cloth, though he had the least occasion for it, having lost his eyes for confederating with RIZA KOULI MYRZA<sup>b</sup>, who attempted to destroy the king his father two years before this time.

<sup>a</sup> A PERSIAN measure of 40 inches.

<sup>b</sup> This prince was blinded by NADIR; but ABDALLAH BEG, it is said, by the compliment which his own father made to NADIR, by accusing his own son, in order to be on a level with the SHAH; but I apprehend he was really guilty.

NASEER AGA returning again to visit me, I complained to him of the trifling conduct of the carriers and camel-drivers; he acknowledged it was so, adding, that the word of the lower sort of his countrymen was not to be depended upon; and therefore he would not recommend to me any PERSIAN as a servant, agreeable to the request I had before made him. He again took notice to me, in a particular manner, of the serious air of my countenance, inasmuch that I thought it necessary to make a reply to to this effect: "I observe, Sir, you have mentioned this subject to me more than once; you are the best judge of my looks; but I think my countenance is more in fault than my heart. It is true, I am a little mortified to see myself trifled with, as if the townsmen did not design I should ever get from hence; but if you mean to admonish me, I take it in good part; and shall readily grant, that a merry heart maketh a cheerful countenance." Joy is as essential to the happiness of man as oil to the flame; a principle which will prove the best preservative against the miseries of life. Every part of nature seems to rejoice: The animal, and even the vegetable world, proclaim a joy in their existence: how much more ought man to exult in the comforts, the pleasures, the glories of the visible world; and to triumph in the contemplation of his own immortality? But is not a serious turn of mind essential to that contemplation?

"The appearance of the countenance will generally follow the turn of mind, allowing for health, and the peculiar air of the face. But a flow of spirits seems to be indispensably necessary to support the heart in a habit of joy. The man of a good understanding, whose spirits flow briskly, is best qualified to think justly, especially if from the earliest part of his life he is set in the paths of virtue; but these advantages seldom meet in one and the same person. We generally find, that a mediocrity of spirits, is the greatest friend to an innocent life; and innocence is the parent of that contentment which lays a good foundation, if it does not constitute the essence of joy." The old man now looked seriously himself; he was in labour with an important secret, in which I was intimately concerned, though he dared not to tell me of it.

Soon after this conversation two RUSSIAN slaves were offered to me for sale ; I had no occasion for them, nor could I attempt their redemption out of charity ; I desired however to be informed of their misfortunes. They told me they had been taken when young by the OUSBEGS, and sold to the TURKUMANS. They had served in the expedition of BECKAWITZ the GEORGIAN prince, whose story deserves a place in this journal, as it serves to show the great difficulty, if not absolute impossibility of extending a trade among so perfidious and barbarous a people as the TARTARS.

PETER the GREAT, amidst all his successes in war, did not neglect the pursuit of commerce. He had already made a survey of the CASPIAN, and formed a design of extending his conquest beyond SAMARCAND, so far at least as to secure the LAPIS LAZULI, which is found in that neighbourhood. He had also flattered himself with the expectation of discovering some mine of gold. In the valley of SOGD is a river, whose sands abound with gold dust, which the PERSIANS, as likewise the OUSBEGS, and other neighbouring TARTARS, often gather. PERSIA being at this time<sup>b</sup> in great confusion by the indolence of SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN ; and PETER thinking a small regular force sufficient for that purpose, sent 3000 men to reconnoitre this country. There was a CIRCASSIAN prince, who, to avoid the miseries of HUSSEIN's reign, had fled into RUSSIA with his treasure and family. This prince soon died, and his son, named ALEXANDER BECKAWITZ, married into one of the greatest families in that empire. He was now chosen by the emperor PETER to command in this enterprize, as well on account of the bravery of the GEORGIANS, as the particular knowledge this prince was supposed to have had of the TARTARS.

Besides the perpetual harassments which the TARTARS usually give a regular army, during a long and laborious march, they often burn up the grass, and spoil the water ; therefore to render the way to KHIEVA shorter as well as safer, PETER ordered a fort to be built at cape KARAGANSKOI, which lies on the north-east coast of the CASPIAN sea. This being done without any interruption, by means of the shells

and stones found at that place, and magazines being prepared, BECKAWITZ ventured on his intended discovery.

Being arrived near KHIEVA, the OUSBEGS formed a great body to oppose him; but as he had a good field artillery they did not chuse to attack him; on the contrary they accepted his presents, and promised him water and provisions at a time when his army was greatly distressed. After receiving the most solemn assurances of the friendship and protection of the OUSBEG TARTARS; he was induced to divide his forces into bodies of 2 or 300; these treacherous friends pretending that by this means they could supply them with provisions, and enable them to return home with safety. Having thus obtained their point, they fell on the deluded RUSSIANS, who became an easy prey.

This unhappy prince whom necessity or inexperience had drawn into this snare, was one of the first that fell a sacrifice to their perfidious barbarity. He was brought before the tent of the KHAN of KHIEVA, and a scarlet cloth being spread on the ground, as a signal of death; they ordered him to kneel down: but he refused to comply, so that instead of suffering the easy death of losing his head with a stroke of a sabre, he was hacked on the legs, and butchered in the most barbarous manner. As to the forces who had been under his command, many were put to death; some remained as slaves; and others retained in their service, especially the musicians, and those who belonged to the artillery, whom they found of use in their subsequent wars.

To resume my own story. The 9th, I was again honoured with a numerous levy, more against my will than ministers of state usually behold a number of suitors whom it is not in their power to gratify; for these visits answered no other purpose than to take up my time. But what surprized me most, was that the menial servants, and several of the common people, were admitted to crowd round the AIVAN<sup>c</sup>, and be privy to the conversation. This was the less agreeable to me, as their conduct had given them no title to the knowledge of my designs. I had an opportunity of observing, that persons of the best quality among them were very ig-

<sup>c</sup> The largest apartment in the PERSIAN houses, which is open on one side.

norant of the affairs of EUROPE : one of the most intelligent having heard of the fatal catastrophe which happened the preceding summer to several persons of distinction in RUSSIA, inquired if they were punished for being of the PERSIAN party; though I believe no such party existed in RUSSIA.

On the 10th. A fresh difficulty now arose, for our camel-drivers alleged that they could not keep company with the horses; and therefore they must set out two or three days before. I knew not how to reconcile myself to the thoughts of separating my company: however, the importunity of NASEER AGA, and the pretended necessity of the thing, induced me to consent. Accordingly I delivered 40 bales, the loads of ten camels, and fixed my own departure with the remainder of the caravan for the 14th. I sent an ARMENIAN servant to attend the camels, and appointed a certain rendezvous, which was on the other side of the most difficult passes in the mountains. On the 12th, I made a visit to the governor, who was much less courteous to me than he had hitherto been, and appeared perplexed in his thoughts. It was said, that he was providing horses to send the king's treasure consisting of 17,000 crowns to CASBIN; he now told me he was so bare of soldiers, he could not spare me more than one. This startled me, for I was previously determined to have demanded a greater number than he had at first appointed me; especially as I was obliged to separate my company; however I could not make any impressions on him. It seemed to me strange, that a caravan of 17,000 crowns in money should require so great a guard, and that to one of 30,000 crowns in cloth, a single soldier was sufficient. I was ignorant of the secret, and my ignorance constituted my happiness at that time. I took my leave of the governor, desiring him to continue me under his protection, and assist me with his advice, in any article he might think necessary.

The 14th, My first detachment departed. I intending to follow them immediately, and had prepared KEDGAVAYS; these are a kind of covered chairs, which the PERSIANS hang over camels in the manner of panniers, and are big enough for one person to sit in. By this means I could accommodate any of my company if they should happen to fall sick, and  
pro-

provide for my own security against the extremity of the cold. At length by the interposition of NASEER AGA, I obtained a promise from the governor, that two soldiers should accompany the first detachment of my caravan. The next day in the evening they set lights at the head and feet of the graves of their departed friends, round which they led sheep by the horns, in commemoration of ABRAHAM's offering up his son ISMAEL; for they do not allow it was ISAAC.

I was now preparing to leave this city, the first I had seen in PERSIA, and of which I had received very disagreeable impressions. Whilst I was giving the necessary orders, my friend NASEER AGA came to acquaint me that it was not a lucky hour, and therefore I must not depart. I told him if he had no other reason, that I was one of those christians who do not regard lucky hours, but depending on that good providence which at all times governs the world, I begged I might be permitted to depart. He replied in a very definitive manner, that I must not set out. I thought it proper to submit, from the assurance I had always received of the integrity of his intentions, though I imputed this repugnance to his superstition.



### C H A P. XXX.

*A rebellion breaks out in the province of ASTRABAD. The author is in distress. A prayer. The city taken, and the caravan designed for MESCHED plundered.*

THE 15th of January 1744, the dismal scene now began to disclose itself; for NASEER AGA had hardly left me when I heard the hoarse sound of trumpets: this was an alarm to call in the neighbouring inhabitants, and to bring their cattle with them. The shops were ordered to be shut up, and the townsmen to repair to the walls, to put them in a condition of defence. I now began to recollect a thousand incidents which discovered the play which was about to be acted; but it was in vain to wish myself on board ship, or to entertain melancholy thoughts of this commercial project. NASEER AGA returned immediately, and advised me to send for my ship, acknowledging that he thought we were all in danger from the rebellion which had broke out in the neighbourhood of the city. This proposal however could not be put in execution; for the ship was then either at ENZELLE or DERBEND. I desired him to send for my ten camel-loads of cloth already on the road to be returned into the city; but he told me,

me, that no person was admitted to go out of the gates. The governor being apprehensive of a confederacy within the walls, as well as that which was already formed without, ordered a strong guard to patrol the streets.

The secret now came out, that MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom I have already observed, to have been under the governor's inspection, had left the city some days before, and now appeared in arms at the head of a party of KHAJARS<sup>a</sup>, with an auxiliary body of TURKUMAN TARTARS. MAHOMMED KHAN<sup>b</sup> BEG and SADOQ AGA, the two young men of distinction, who were with the governor when I went first to see him, had joined MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, unanimously declaring that they meant to possess themselves of the city, of the king's treasure, and particularly of my caravan; and the better to delude themselves, and the unhappy townsmen, they gave out that the SHAH was dead.

The 16th, MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the governor sent two couriers into KHORASAN to bring forces to his assistance. At the same time he ordered ten soldiers to guard the ten camels loaded with my cloth back into the city; this however was but an idle expedient, as the enemy was already possessed of all the avenues, and the goods actually lodged in a village the property of MAHOMMED KHAN BEG. The only comfort which NASEER AGA now gave us, was, that whilst he lived they should not touch our lives. He had been one of the chief advisers of Mr. ELTON, a few months before, to attempt this rout to MESCHED, which indeed was according to the original plan, as already mentioned<sup>c</sup>. The old man was now perfectly sensible of the dangers which threatened us. The respect which had been always shewn him by MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his thoughtless followers, who had embarked in this desperate enterprize, induced him to venture among them, and to endeavour to dissuade them from so rash and perilous an undertaking: They suffered him to return, but he made not any impression on them. Hitherto he had appeared undaunted; but now spoke short, and was impatient of

<sup>a</sup> The inhabitants of this province are so called.  
understood as a title.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>b</sup> KHAN is here a name, though otherwise

being questioned. His whole mind and person looked disturbed, as if he was that night to render up his accounts for all his past life; and for the years that had rendered his beard so venerably hoary.

A besieged city incapable of defence, a faithless and weak garrison, were things as new to me, as PERSIA and PERSIANS; but the notion I had entertained of the TURKUMAN TARTARS, and their barbarity of manners, made the worst impression on me. I did not conceive what purpose it would answer for them to commit any violence on my person, for it could not conceal their robbery; nor had I any apprehension their rebellion could be supported; but the report was, that they would put us to the sword. My attendants recommended my disguising myself in a PERSIAN habit; but I chose to remain in my proper shape and character, which I could support much better. Reports now crowded on each other, that the rebel army had advanced within a short distance; so that the governor and NASSER AGA, jealous of their own safety, and of the impossibility of defending the city, disguised themselves in the habits of peasants, and mounting on horseback, each behind a real peasant, made their escape in the night.

The distress and misery in which these infatuated people were involving themselves, seemed to me the most interesting subject. Those who were not disposed to rebellion, now cursed me as the cause of the evils they foresaw; alledging that if I had not brought so valuable a caravan to ASTRABAD, the people had not rebelled. Perhaps I was an instrument of providence in the chastisement of these unhappy men, but I had nothing to reproach myself with on this account; and in this general calamity I knew not in how great a degree I might partake, and therefore thought it necessary to prepare for all events. The flattering expectation I had entertained, that as the enemy had no artillery, the town might be easily defended till succour should be brought, induced me to lay in a quantity of provision; but this was vain; we had nothing left but to receive our conquerors, and submit to their pleasure.

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In the evening I retired to my apartment to indulge my own meditations, not forgetting my ordinary practice of writing. Without the assistance of my pen I could not trace out the whole connexion of my thoughts, nor properly digest them; and the occasion was now very important. What I find in my journal is to this effect, and pretty near the same words.

“ O beneficent father, thou tender parent and universal lord of ALL!  
 “ I beseech thee to hear the prayer which in the deepest humiliation of  
 “ my soul I now make before thee.

“ O GOD! whom have I to trust in, but thee: thou hast been my suc-  
 “ cour through all the perils and vicissitudes of my life, even from my mo-  
 “ ther’s breast. If it is thy good pleasure yet to preserve my life; let  
 “ all my future hopes, and all my wishes, center in thee alone; let the  
 “ remembrance of all thy mercies inspire my mind with the most ardent  
 “ love, the most exalted gratitude; let the tender laws of humanity  
 “ ever possess my soul, and render me acceptable in thy sight, through  
 “ the merits of thy dear son, who died to redeem the world.

“ But if thy gracious providence has ordained that my life be now  
 “ brought to an end by these unthinking men, thy will be done. Avert,  
 “ O lord, the destruction that threatens them, and lay not my blood to  
 “ their charge.

“ I tremble, O lord, at thy justice; but thy goodness and paternal  
 “ love; thy tender, boundless mercy is extended to all thy works: suffer  
 “ me not to perish. And thou, my redeemer, who camest into the world  
 “ to save sinners, I grasp thy blessed feet. O, reject me not, reject me  
 “ not, thou GOD of mercy; let my remembrance of thy life and suffer-  
 “ ings, thy agonies and ignominious death for the sins of mankind, now  
 “ support and secure me in thy favour; and by thy resurrection and af-  
 “ cension, by thy ever prevailing merits and intercession at the throne of  
 “ the almighty, procure that pardon, without which I am undone.

“ O omniscient father, who knowest all the circumstances of human  
 “ life, and the evils to which it is exposed : Thou who knowest the  
 “ secrets of men’s hearts, and all their inmost thoughts, I beseech thee  
 “ call to mind the laborious, though imperfect struggles of my life to  
 “ subdue myself to a sincere obedience to thy laws, as the supreme object  
 “ of my wishes. If I have done any thing acceptable in thy sight, O  
 “ remember it in thy infinite goodness and compassion, whilst thy mercy  
 “ erases all record of the numberless follies, and infirmities of my life ;  
 “ and of all the offences I have been guilty of against thee.

“ Support me, O lord of mercy, in the remembrance of that boundless  
 “ favour and tender love, which thou hast shewn to all the sons of men,  
 “ through all ages of the world.

“ Enable me, O blessed lord, to fix my heart on thee. Let no object  
 “ distract my mind, or weaken my attention. Awe me with fear, and  
 “ prevent my presumptuous thoughts ; yet fill my heart with an entire  
 “ confidence in thy mercy ; warm it with a seraphic fire, and prepare my  
 “ spirit for thy tremendous presence.

“ If it is thy will that I now render back this vital heat and motion,  
 “ which sprang from thee, great author of life, and supporter of this stu-  
 “ pendous world ! If my hour is come, O succour me in the secret paths  
 “ of death ; and thou, O blessed redeemer of the world, receive me in-  
 “ to the glory thou hast prepared for thy servants.”

I had ordered a watch to be kept all night, that I might not be sur-  
 prized ; and after employing myself in as proper a manner as I could up-  
 on so interesting an occasion till 11 ; I slept till 4 in the morning. I was  
 then awakened by a brisk, but irregular discharge of musquetry. A si-  
 lence ensued, from whence I concluded the city was delivered up to MA-  
 HOMMED HASAN BEG, and, to my great comfort, it proved so ; had  
 any fruitless resistance been made, the besiegers would probably have  
 carried things to the greater extremities, As I heard no tumult, I flattered  
 myself that the rebels would not proceed to any slaughter, and that the cap-  
 ture of my merchandize would content them. The 17th, MAHOMMED

HASSAN BEG no sooner entered the town, than he sought for MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG the late governor, for his father MAHOMMED HUSSEI KHAN had some years before delivered FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of the present rebel chief, to NADIR, by whom he was put to death: the governor however had been too sensible of his danger to wait the arrival of the rebels.

Noise and merriment seemed necessary to support the spirits of those who had embarked in this desperate enterprize. They seized the city-drums, and a large party went about beating them and hollowing: at the same time they drove before them the CAJENTER<sup>d</sup>, and another person, both naked, and demanded the SHAH's treasure, which MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG had carefully concealed before his departure.

It was now my turn to receive a visit from them, and hear my fate. SADOE AGA, who was appointed a general<sup>e</sup> with MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, both young men of more fire than judgment, headed a party of 14 armed persons of the best distinction among them, and came to my house. I had collected my servants in one room, from whence I sent a little boy a servant, who understood the TURKISH language, which is most known to the KHAJARS, to conduct these hostile visitors to us, and to tell them, that as we were at their mercy, we hoped they would treat us with humanity. They immediately entered, and assured us, they did not mean to hurt us; on the contrary, that as soon as their government was established, they would pay me for my goods. They demanded at the same time where they were lodged; and informed me that the 40 bales, which I had sent out of the town some days before, were already in their possession. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then demanded my purse, which I had prepared with about thirty crowns in gold and silver: he contented himself for the present with counting it, and then returned it to me, demanding if I had any more; for that it would be the worse for me if I concealed any. I thought it warrantable however to make an evasive answer,

<sup>d</sup> Town-clerk and collector of the city, who acted as sub governor.

<sup>e</sup> SIRDAR.

though it was a true one as to the fact ; viz. that all the town knew very well I had been searching for money in exchange for my bill on Mr. ELTON, not having sufficient to convey my caravan to MESCHED. As gold can purchase any thing except virtue and health, understanding and beauty, I thought it might now administer to our safety. I therefore reserved a purse of 160 crowns in gold ; apprehending that the skilful application of it might ward off the danger which threatened us ; but I afterwards found that our security was in our supposed poverty ; for in near three weeks distress I durst not shew a single piece of gold, much less acknowledge that I had saved any money.

I had here an opportunity to consider the admirable lessons of morality, which the MAHOMMEDANS teach by example and practice, whilst the christians hold the theory in great veneration. A MAHOMMEDAN, who is a general to-day, and a common foldier to-morrow, says, IT IS THE WILL OF GOD. Far from laying violent hands on himself, he thinks it at least as honourable to submit, and shew obedience to the decrees of heaven, as he did in the meridian of his power, to obey the commands of his sovereign.

Finding things conducted with some appearance of justice, I now turned my thoughts on the kindness of providence in bringing this event about in the city, rather than upon the road, where it was highly improbable I should have received such gentle treatment. My drooping spirits revived, and I considered how best to extricate myself. I was now more than ever inclined to that opinion, that the mind of man is so formed as naturally to employ itself in the pursuit of pleasure, and that it's operations, when they have their true biases, have always a repugnancy to pain. Upon the same principle it will turn itself from a view of the evils of life, and fly off, as it were, on the wings of resignation and hope to a scene of comfort and delight. Sorrow, which is not in its final issue productive of joy, seems to belong to man, only as his reason becomes obscured by accidents, that is, by an irreligious or melancholy disposition. The saviour of mankind, though perfect, was indeed "a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief ;" but it was for the sins of  
of

of the world for which he mourned; his sorrows are changed into everlasting joy, and were intended to change ours also into a happy immortality. Thus the goodness of the great lord of nature is obvious to a degree of amazement; for if by a natural propensity of the soul we turn from sorrow and the evils of life, and fix the mind on the remedies of those evils; and if there is no evil but religion points out the remedy also; even when we are surrounded with bitter calamities; what consolation might not this afford? What joy can exceed that, of acting under the care and protection of the tender parent of mankind, who can no more mean to hurt us unoffending, than he can cease his own existence; nor can he, without trials, give us an opportunity of virtue; nor without virtue, is it consistent to imagine we are the objects of his love. Happy were it for the world, if the trials of prosperity had ordinarily the same issue as those of distress, which soften the heart to a sense of obedience. Ingratitude, which is twin-born with pride, and the genuine offspring of the corruption of human nature, sometimes predominates most, where most thanks are due to heaven; and this by the connection there is between the gratification of uncorrected passions and appetites, and the means of such gratifications; so that what men call prosperity is a blessing, or a curse, just as it is used.

With reflections like these I endeavoured to turn the edge of this misfortune, and as much as possible to convert it into an occasion of good. The greatest indignity I had yet experienced, was that of being shut out of the habitable part of my house, and particularly my chamber, and the use of my baggage; my magazine of merchandize, I had of course given up. There was also great reason to apprehend some irregular proceedings from the soldiers, particularly the TURKUMANS: I therefore desired that a guard might be appointed, not for the security of our persons only, but to preserve from any violation, the seal which they fixed on the door of the warehouse, where the cloth was deposited. They declared this to be a very reasonable request, and immediately gave the necessary orders.

It was but natural to apprehend they would now proceed to some executions in cold blood; but, to my great surprize and satisfaction, I found  
they

they had put only one man to death : this person, by a very singular work of providence, was a groom belonging to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who under his master's direction, had been the actual executioner of TÆHMAS SHAH, their last lawful king. This man, now falling into the hands of these rebels, fell also a sacrifice to their just resentments. I was greatly surprized to observe with what facility the late subjects of NADIR, and the servants of the late governor, professed an entire devotion to the new chief MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, whom they stiled their KHAN<sup>f</sup>.

The 18th, It was now very apparent on what principles HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED had acted; he was in the secret of the rebellion from the time of my arrival, and brought me to the town under the highest professions of friendship, as a sheep to the slaughter. However it was my business to disguise my sentiments; for as I had nothing there to lose but my life, or liberty, I had nothing else to think of: I therefore still behaved to the HAHDGEE, as to one on whom I depended; and, instead of reproaching him, I entreated of him to recover of the carriers the money I had advanced them, if their KHAN would permit it, alledging that neither myself nor my servants could live upon the air; for I concealed the money I had saved. He represented the case, and obtained a recovery of about 150 crowns, part of which he returned to us in such proportions as he thought proper, to provide for the common necessities of life.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*The author engages the friendship of the rebel-governor, who holds a council about the division of the plunder. He is in danger of being carried as a slave into TURKUMANIA. He leaves ASTRABAD.*

**B**ABA SADOQ, a person of extraordinary stature and comeliness, was now appointed governor of the city: the generous air of this man's countenance was the very picture of humanity. As he had great authority among

<sup>f</sup> Lord.

among the rebels, I entreated him to be restored to the use of my chamber and baggage, having had no better lodging the night before than a mat in my kitchen, which was open to the air. Besides the money already mentioned, I took the precaution to conceal half a piece of rich silk, expecting by this means to procure the kindness of some person in power; and accordingly I conveyed to BABA SADOQ, as the poor remains of my plundered fortunes, as much of this as would make a PERSIAN dress. He bid me be comforted, assured me that no harm should happen to me, and immediately ordered the seal to be taken off my chamber-door; but at the same time he enjoined me to observe the strictest secrecy, with regard to the present I had made him; for the chiefs already began to be jealous of each other about the division of the spoil; and the more as they had not yet discovered the SHAH's treasure. The 19th in the morning MAHOMMED KHAN BEG and SADOQ AGA, with a train of attendants, came to my house, and carried off several bales, concealing others in different apartments, with a design to convey them away at night. One of the company expostulated with them, as if they had no authority for what they did: but they, considering themselves upon an equality with their leader, laughed at the admonition. This gave me the stronger apprehension of the ruin which hung over the heads of these rash young men.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who had before returned me my purse, now demanded it back with the same menacing language. However I thought it necessary to be silent upon that subject, having had already given him an answer. Upon this occasion SADOQ AGA pointed at me with an insulting smile, desiring his friend to observe my appearance, as if he meant to ridicule my distress. About noon they assembled at my house, where they demanded a regular account of all my cloth, which I accordingly delivered to them. Some difficulties being started with regard to the measure; the person objecting was soon silenced by a general declaration, that the CHRISTIANS are very regular, as well as just, in their dealings.

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG then introduced two of the TURKUMAN chiefs. These were the greatest objects of my fear, but they were no less  
so

so of my contempt. Their habits were very coarse, and their countenance yet more hard and ill-favoured. They pulled off their boots, and came with naked feet on the carpet, where they were received with great distinction by the KHAJARS, who conducted them to the seat of honour. MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, turning towards me, said, "These are the pillagers of countries, who sow devastation where-ever they go: you may now consider them as your merchants." The TURKUMANS added, "You give us the merchandize of the RUSSIANS (for so they called us) will you not give us the RUSSIANS also?" To which several of the KHAJARS replied, particularly BABA SADOQ, "What can you do with them?" They answered, "They will do well to keep our sheep." I was armed in a confidence of security from the promises I had received of protection; but this declaration of the TURKUMANS increased my impatience to leave the city at some rate or other. The assembly then consulted publicly, and without the least reserve, how they should divide the spoil, and broke up seemingly well satisfied with their prize.

The perplexity which I observed in their councils, gave me very melancholy presages of their approaching fate. I had the satisfaction at the same time of thinking there was the less danger of their conquering all the southern coast of the CASPIAN, and consequently that the ENGLISH factory at GHILAN might escape falling into their hands.

The governor of the next province of MAZANDERAN had been in confederacy with them; but upon their inviting him to take arms, he returned for answer, "That they might sleep in the bed which they had made." My great anxiety was in what manner I should get out of their hands. I was firmly of opinion, that their reign could be only for a few weeks; and that either the city would be besieged by the SHAH's forces, and the inhabitants put to the sword, or the rebels would be beat in the field. But every way I saw danger; for if they left the city behind them, they might, in their retreat to the deserts of TURKUMANIA, carry us off with every thing they could find: and even if they succeeded, the TURKUMAN party and interest would increase, and I should be carried a slave into their barbarous country.

THE PERSIANS and KHAJARS, who had a higher sense of honour and humanity, knew that whatever motives might induce them to rebel against their sovereign, they had no right to rob me. Hence they expressed an anxious concern for my security, and charged me very strictly to conceal myself as much as possible from the TURKUMANS. MAHOMMED HASSAN himself seemed desirous to save us from any further misfortune, and promised to grant us a passport. In times of intestine commotions the country abounds with flying parties of robbers; moreover, the peasants of MAZANDERAN were expected to be in arms; so that HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, into whose hands necessity had obliged me to throw myself, represented the great hazard we should be exposed to in attempting to return to GHILAN; for which reason he recommended our retiring to some secret place in the neighbouring mountains, where the PERSIANS, upon such occasions, frequently conceal themselves. I had no suspicion of his being such a villain as to have a design against my life; however, I had no opinion of his proposal, and rather chose to go openly out of the city with such a guard as I could procure. In this I was opposed by my interpreter, and all my servants, alledging if I insisted on putting our escape to any such issue, they would not attend me. With regard to them, I was in the same circumstances as a master in respect to his mariners after his ship is wrecked: but whether it was from their greater experience, or not, their fears ran very high.

The 19th, My interpreter MATTEUSE went to MAHOMMED HASSAN, to thank him for the protection I had received from him, and to beg the continuance of it. The prices of the cloth being demanded of the interpreter, according to the intimation he had received for that purpose from the KHAJARS, he mentioned twenty per cent more than the real value; that the TURKUMAN chiefs, who were then in MAHOMMED HASSAN's tent, might receive the higher impression of the presents he had made them. These TARTAR allies having now received the price of their friendship, and expecting little more than the event of a battle, began to murmur and talk of returning to their deserts. This conduct might naturally be expected of those who came only as dogs to a bone,

and have much less fidelity than is usually found in that animal. Several of the common TURKUMANS intruded themselves into my house, pretending a curiosity to see us; but as I afterwards learnt, their real intention was to consult by what means they might carry us off.

Fear now taking place of tumultuous joy, the gates of the city were ordered to be shut, and no person to pass in or out without the knowledge of MAHOMMED HASSAN; so that they already seemed to repent of their conduct. In the evening I first observed the comet which appeared at this time in the heavens, and was now a little to the south-west of my habitation.

The 20th, SADOQ AGA declared that in a day or two he intended to make incursions into MAZANDERAN, which was also ripe for a revolt; but the inhabitants of that province had too mean an opinion of the ASTRABAD chiefs, to declare in their favour. HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, who had hitherto magnified the difficulties of my escape, now represented it more practicable. With regard to the rebellion he had pulled off the mask intirely, by the great joy he expressed upon a report, that 4000 deserters from the SHAH's camp were come in to their assistance: an event which appeared highly improbable. But such was the infatuation of those miserable people, that they greedily swallowed down this news, which was one instance of that fatal credulity, which induced them to take up arms. The 4000 men in fact, proved only to be four OUSBEG couriers, whom the SHAH had sent to KHIEVA for recruits, and were now in their way thither. These men boldly reported that the SHAH had a great army not far from GHILAN.

The TURKUMANS were already exceeding clamorous, pretending that they had been promised the value of 40,000 crowns in cloth, and a considerable sum of money, which they affirmed they had not received in any such proportion, notwithstanding the SHAH's treasure of 17,000 crowns had been at length discovered. Upon this several quarrels ensued, in which one of the TURKUMANS was cut to pieces, this induced a considerable body of them to retire from the camp. In the interim a certain

tain woman, in an enthusiastic, and indeed prophetic rage, ran about the streets beating her breast, and tearing her hair; saying, "now for "this T——d of a KHAN<sup>a</sup>, will this poor city be put to the sword!"

MAHOMMED KHAN BEG was very inquisitive when I intended to set out on my journey to GHILAN. This gave me some uneasiness; for the treatment I had received from him, and the great encomiums he had bestowed on the TURKUMAN chiefs, made me suspect, that he would not scruple to point out to them by what means they might carry us off, since they could not obtain us by the general consent of the KHAJARS.

On the 21st, The news of the plunder brought an additional reinforcement of one hundred TURKUMANS to the rebel-camp, who from an impatient desire each had of being the first in paying his respects to MAHOMMED HASSAN, created some disturbance. In the mean while, as they before challenged us in relation to our faith as CHRISTIANS, we were now represented by some superstitious or malicious persons, as men who did not believe in the supreme BEING; and indeed I was apprehensive that they meant to draw from this principle a reason for disposing of us in what manner they pleased, without the violation of any divine law. This was an opinion of a dangerous tendency, but too gross to be swallowed by the wiser part of them. The rebels had already taken our TARTAR boy, and detained him for some time: this increased the panic of the rest of my servants, who at length resolved to share my fortune in getting out of the town. I was the more impatient to see myself free of all impediment, as I determined to seek the SHAH, and appeal to him for justice; though I dared not at that time to talk of any such matter.

The 22d, My interpreter delivered to MAHOMMED HASSAN a regular account of the real value of the goods; and the better to carry on the farce, desired a bill of him for the amount; which he accordingly gave. After we had engaged the HAHDGEE to provide us ten of his armed villagers as a guard, and agreed for horses to carry us, we determined to leave the town the next day a little before sun-rising.

<sup>a</sup> Meaning MAHOMMED HASSAN the rebel-chief;



## C H A P. XXXII.

*The author arrives at BALFRUSH, and joins a party of the SHAH'S forces; he is obliged to leave his interpreter and servants at BALFRUSH. The several adventures which befel him in retiring before the TURKUMAN TARTARS.*

**I**T was not till the 24th of January that we took our leave of AS-TRABAD, under the convoy of the HAHDGEE, his brother, his two sons, and about twenty armed villagers. Just without the gates we met a party of 50 persons gallantly dressed, well mounted and armed, who were come from MAZANDERAN to join the rebels: I could not but consider them as so many victims to their own folly and rashness. We carried with us all our baggage, and even our arms, and arrived safe after a day's journey at KOORDIEMALLA, a village belonging to the HAHDGEE. His brother, whose character was not the most amiable, would have conducted us to his house in the adjacent mountain; but we absolutely refused to go; in which resolution we were confirmed by the carriers, who expressed their fears of him by saying: "God only knows of his secret retirements."

It was my intention to have refreshed myself and horses, and then to have proceeded by the most secret roads without taking up my lodging with the HAHNGEE, especially as I knew that SADO AGA was the next day to make an incursion into MAZANDERAN with a party of TARTARS by the common rout. The HAHNGEE had otherwise determined: he imagined I was yet possessed of some things of value, and thought it inconsistent with his interest to suffer me to carry them off. His demure countenance, and strict observance of the letter of the law, shewed him to be a true PHARISEE; for his pretence to a more than common sanctity, was but the greater violation of substantial virtue. He had now got us into his possession, and made no scruple to declare, that he would not answer for our safety a single mile further; and that the carriers, who were under his jurisdiction, should not proceed with us, unless I left my baggage with him. He mentioned at the same time a silver-mounted bridle, some gold stuff, plate, and other things, which he supposed were yet in my possession. I represented to him my impatience to proceed, and that I would run all hazards: but he replied with a treacherous smile, "YOU ARE VERY WISE." This crafty old man, whose perfidiousness was exceeded by nothing but his hypocrisy, determined to play a cunning game. If the rebellion succeeded, he would make a prize of my baggage; and if it did not succeed, he would plead his loyalty by preserving it for me, under the pretence of affording protection to a person, of whose circumstances he knew very well the SHAH must be minutely acquainted, if I escaped with my life. To prove a man to be a villain by pulling off the mask, in which he thinks himself disguised, oftentimes makes him such in a more desperate degree; so that I was afraid to reproach him, lest I should bring on a worse evil than the loss of my baggage; for he pretended all the while to be highly interested for my safety. I saw myself entirely at his mercy, and was apprehensive if I had taken my baggage from his house, I should not be able to keep it long from other thieves, who might not be so civil in their manners as this courtly robber. The HAHNGEE having entertained us handsomely at supper, I retired to my apartment, where I determined to play the game which he had taught me, though upon very different principles. I cut off the silver from my  
bridle,

bridle, with the trimmings from my cloaths, and also concealed what little plate I had. Not knowing how to dispose of some yards of rich silk which I had brought off from ASTRABAD, without a suspicion of having concealed things of value, I now delivered it to my servant, who wrapped it round his body. Thus hiding every thing that was portable in a small compass, I sealed up the remainder.

Early the next morning I delivered the gross of my baggage to the HAHDGEE, who was very desirous to know why I sealed it up. I told him smiling, "It is usual among EUROPEANS, when they leave any thing in the custody of A FRIEND, to use this method." I then desired he would restore me my money which remained in his hands, "otherwise, AFTER ALL HIS FRIENDSHIP, I must perish on my journey;" for though he knew most of my affairs, yet he was ignorant that I had saved any money. The sum due from the HAHDGEE was about 150 crowns, as already mentioned, of which he had the charity to pay me about sixty, twenty of which was in bad money; and to make up for the inconvenience he suffered in this CHARITABLE payment, he robbed me of the only horse I had, not belonging to the carriers; at least the horse was not to be found the next morning, and I went away without him.

We advanced through by-paths about 20 ENGLISH miles, without any apparent danger; for the few peasants whom we saw at different times, ran from us into the woods, taking us for enemies; and that night we lay in the open fields. The 26th, After travelling over ditches, and through pathless woods, we arrived at a ruined cottage, which was however very acceptable to us in our condition. The greatest concern I had was to prevent the SHACKALLS from running away with my accoutrements: these animals, with which the woods abound, are remarkably fond of leather: they are also very domestic, insomuch that several of them passed over my bed during the night. I was determined to part with my conductors as soon as convenient; for they sowed rebellion wherever they went. The little children in the villages, taking us for TARTARS, called out "TURKUMANÆ;" as if they meant to receive us as their DELIVERERS. The people every where complained aloud, that the

SHAH had reduced them to the extremest misery<sup>a</sup>. We passed by the ruins of the palace at FARABAD, once famous for the residence of the PERSIAN kings. This city having been often plundered by the TURKUMANS, is now abandoned; there being only a few PERSIAN and ARME-  
NIAN inhabitants. From hence we passed to a little village upon a lake, where several peasants support themselves by catching wild ducks. They go in boats during the night, near the marshy banks, which are covered with rushes, and carry great lights on the stern; then ringing a number of small bells, the birds are confounded, and fly into their very hands.

The carriers had engaged to conduct us to BALFRUSH, the capital of MAZANDERAN, which was yet about 20 miles distant; but hearing that MAHOMMED KHAN, the admiral of the sea-coasts, was levying forces to oppose the ASTRABAD rebels, they would not proceed with me any farther. I was in a country surrounded by marshes, where no horses, nor any other cattle were to be had, and therefore desired they would at least conduct me to some place where we could procure horses; but this they also refused, alledging, that as we were near the sea, we might go by water. Accordingly, the 27th in the morning, they conducted us to a poor fisherman's hut on the sea-coast; he had a canoe, which was very leaky, and too small for six persons; besides, it could be navigated only with oars near the shore, where the surf ran so high, that I had no conception how it was possible for such a boat to convey us 20 miles. I therefore repeated my instances to the carriers, that they would either find me horses according to their engagement, or at least carry me where I

<sup>a</sup> Mr. OTTER of the academy of PARIS, who travelled in PERSIA a few years before this time, mentions a remarkable speech which was made him by a poor peasant, when he questioned him why he did not cloath his daughter better. "You," says the peasant, "ask this question much at your ease; but I fancy you do not know NADIR SHAH. Instead of thinking of our cloaths, it is well if we can get a morsel of bread: Are we not obliged to sell all we have to find him money, and prevent our being bastonaded to death? They now demand of me three TOMANS (30 crowns) I know not where to get them: My cattle, my flocks, and my moveables are already carried off by the SHAH's collectors (MUHASSILS) I have only two or three sheep left, whose milk serves to nourish me, and this poor girl, whom I would gladly sell, even to a foreigner, if I could get for her the sum they demand of me: she can never be in a worse condition than she is here, especially if she should have the misfortune to lose me, which must infallibly happen, if I am not in a condition to pay this money."

could procure them. They treated my demand with contempt; which obliged me to threaten them to use force: upon this two of them, being armed with match-locks, lighted their matches: two had bows and arrows; and all of them, being six in number, had sabres; they also put themselves in a posture of defence. I collected my company, among whom were four muskets, a blunderbuss, and a pair of pistols; but I could hardly depend on more than two of my servants. In this situation we parleyed for some time, till at length I submitted to run the risk of being drowned; rather than engage in a fray, where I might have more probably ended my life, but could not possibly obtain any honour or advantage, except the precarious use of horses, through a country entirely unknown to us. Trusting therefore to providence, we embarked in the canoe. We made our way with paddles along the shore, in four or five feet water, within banks of sand, so that we had breakers on both sides of us. Had the wind come from the north, it would have been impossible for the canoe to live: but gentle breezes from the east, with the skilfulness of our boatman in this sort of navigation, brought us safe to MESCHEDIZAR. On the 28th, I learnt that the governor of this province (MAZANDERAN) had collected a thousand men to make head against the rebels; but their unwillingness to fight, from their disaffection to the government, had induced them to separate; the governor himself had also retired. However the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN was there endeavouring by all means to collect a body of forces: SHAH-VERDIE BEG, a colonel in the marine, was also with him. I sent an ARMENIAN servant to inform them of my arrival, and to beg their protection; on which SHAHVERDIE BEG sent me a horse handsomely caparisoned, and four mules for my servants. The 30th, We came to BALFRUSH, where I had the satisfaction to learn the opinion of the PERSIAN merchants, that the SHAH would make good my loss. MAHOMMED KHAN congratulated me on my arrival in his jurisdiction out of the hands of the rebels, and told me that I was happy in having escaped with my life; that he was himself under very melancholy circumstances, having only a small number of forces to oppose the rebels; and that he wished to be in GHILAN; but could not return thither, for fear of the king's dis-

displeasure. He recommended to me to continue my rout by water, otherwise I must be exposed again to the rebels in a defenceless city. I had no inclination for any more such voyages, in which, with every puff of wind, I must be exposed to be drowned, or driven, without any of the necessities of life, upon a wild and friendless shore. However, to gratify the admiral, who knew less of the water than many children of five years of age, I made enquiry if it was practicable; and found that the inhabitants of MESCHEDIZAR being afraid of the TURKUMANS, had deserted the place the day I left it, and that it would be to no purpose to return thither.

MATTEUSE, my interpreter, was much distressed with fatigue and fear, and instead of assisting me with his council, talked of retiring to a monastery, which he thought would be more proper for his age and turn of mind, than such perilous wanderings; and resolved at the same time to remain in BALFRUSH. His incapacity of keeping pace on the road, and his jealousy that I did not confide in him, made his company irksome, though he was a very good old man.

The 31st, SADOE AGA having now advanced at the head of a party of TURKUMANS within a few miles of this city; MAHOMMED KHAN went out to reconnoitre his situation. The KHAN had with him only about 80 men, and though these were well mounted and armed, they were too few to come to action, had his courage disposed him to it: nor had the TURKUMANS, on the other hand, half so great an inclination to fight as to plunder. Indeed the gallant figure which this party made, induced me to hope they would not put it to the issue of an unequal engagement. On the KHAN's return to the city, I waited on him, to thank him for the advice he had given me; but that it was not practicable to follow it; MESCHEDIZAR being deserted by the inhabitants: therefore I desired a supply of horses for myself and servants. He now seemed cold and indifferent to my application; though, in general terms, he still promised I should have them, but without saying what number, or when: he complained at the same time, that he did not know but to-morrow might

be his last; as he was neither in a condition to fight, nor, for fear of his master's displeasure, dared to retire.

February the 1st, I sent a message to the KHAN to remind him of his promise; and he assured my interpreter, that he would take care of us; but did not yet give any orders for horses or mules. The TARTARS were every hour expected in the city; the shops were shut, and every countenance full of distraction. I resolved therefore to depend no longer on the promises of the KHAN; but endeavoured to find horses, mules, or even asses, where-ever I could procure them, intending to venture with my servants, if I could get no other company: but I found it impossible to hire any beast of burthen; for the greatest part of the people had fled with their most valuable effects, and others were preparing to follow their example. The weather was very rainy, so that neither the match-locks, nor even the fire-locks of the PERSIANS could be of any great use to them against the bows and arrows of the TARTARS. Under these circumstances I had nothing to do, but prepare to receive my conquerors the second time, or to walk off by myself unattended; and of these alternatives I chose the former. The next day MAHOMMED KHAN, as if he meant to insult me, sent a horse extremely poor in flesh, and mortally distempered. I was some time in doubt whether I should accept of him or not; but at length I took my leave of my interpreter and servants, offering them what money they should have occasion for; and leaving with them the rebels passport, I recommended them to providence.

The TARTARS were already entering one gate, when I went out at the other. I fell in with a party who conducted the baggage of MAHOMMED KHAN, and himself with his few forces soon followed; but it was not possible for me to keep pace with them. The TARTAR boy followed me on foot; but he soon tired, and entreated me most earnestly to take him up behind me. Before we had got six miles the horse's hind-quarters gave way, and he sat upon his tail like a dog, so that we were both obliged to dismount. I now began to wish myself in the city again, hardly knowing what method to pursue: I had wrapped my body round with soft PERSIAN fashes, that I might be defended as much possible

nable against the injuries of the weather at this season, which is generally severe in these parts; so that I was but in a bad condition for walking. I had no guide, and understood but few words of the language; however with the assistance of the TARTAR boy, who spoke TURKISH and RUSS, I found my way to the sea-coast. I had with me a blunderbuss and a pair of pistols, intending to keep on my guard. The peasants generally entertain an opinion that EUROPEANS have something valuable about them; and this was my case, for I still retained the greatest part of the money I had concealed: and it now seemed necessary to disguise myself in the best manner I could. My cloaths were already very mean; and the better to deceive any robbers, I set the boy on the horse, which I led by the bridle, as he was yet able to creep along with a small weight. There were several rivers to pass, at which I had the good fortune to find ferries, and pleading poverty I passed gratis. In this manner I continued my journey for about ten ENGLISH miles, perplexed, and extremely harrassed. At length the KHAN's company, to my great joy, having halted, I got up with them, and procured shelter from the weather, with a mat to lay on. By this time Mr. HOGG<sup>a</sup> and my RUSSIAN menial servant came up with me, having had better fortune than myself; for the KHAN had procured them a conveyance on horseback in company with his own servants.

Early the next day I sent to the KHAN, to acquaint him that it was impossible to proceed on the horse which he had sent me: he then ordered others, for which he demanded more than five times the value. As I knew by experience that the possession of them must be precarious; and finding a person, who offered to supply us with better horses for hire, I declined the KHAN's insulting offer. We proceeded a short day's journey to a little village on the sea-coast, where we halted, and I was again deprived of my horse. The KHAN now made a feint, as if he intended to stop the progress of the rebels, who were already advanced in pursuit of him as far as AMUL: observing the beauty of my pistols, which were mounted with silver, he desired the loan of them, alledging that he was going on a party to reconnoitre the rebels. I begged his acceptance of them, reminding him at the same time, that neither myself, nor the three per-

<sup>a</sup> My clerk mentioned in page 83.

sons who were yet with me, had any carriage but what depended on accident, and the charity of the soldiers: upon this he again assured me, through the little TARTAR interpreter, he would take care of us. After a few hours absence he returned in some confusion, and ordered all the avenues in the woods to be guarded to prevent a surprize, a body of rebels being then very near. I had not then eaten any thing for near 40 hours except a few parched pease, so that I was obliged to beg what I dared not, and indeed could not buy, but SHAIVERDIE BEG relieved me.

All the men and baggage being collected within the walls of the VIZIR's house, where the KHAN was lodged; I concluded they either intended a secret flight, or to defend themselves within those walls in case of an attack. I accordingly joined them, and repeated my instances for horses whenever they should march; on which the KHAN bid me not be uneasy, and promised that he would not leave any of us behind. When night came on, they began their march, and I had the mortification to find that every thing, even to the least valuable baggage, was carried off; great part on very good horses; while myself, Mr. HOGG, my RUSSIAN servant, and the little boy, were left alone. My eyes were now opened, and it seemed apparent, that the KHAN meant to make a sacrifice of us, and that we should be safer in the hands of the TARTARS than in his; nor was I without many self-reproaches, for my refusal to buy the bad horses which the KHAN had offered me, though his demands were insolent and oppressive: but I had no experience of such a necessity, nor was I accustomed to servile compliances, so that I was easily betrayed into this mistake. I thought indeed the present of 60 crowns value in the pistols was sufficient to procure the loan of a few bad horses for 3 or 4 days, even upon the narrow principle of gain; but where generosity is a stranger, gratitude has seldom any admittance. Trusting to the goodness of providence I was determined to follow the KHAN, and try if any means yet remained to procure some kind of conveyance. I had not strength to walk far, and there was a deep water to pass before we could reach the sea-shore. Here we had the good fortune to find a ferry, and having passed the river we came into a wood, where the road was deep and  
marshy

marshy. It rained hard, and the night was very dark; but the baggage-horses being heavy laden, moved very slowly, so that I was enabled to keep up with them. Under these painful circumstances I walked for near four miles: being quite jaded, and finding no other expedient, I determined to seize the bridle of the horse on which the KHAN himself was mounted, and try if the word SHAH had any magic to bring him to that sense of duty, which neither his promise, nor the dictates of humanity, had yet obtained. Having collected some broken words, and the copy of the SHAH'S decree<sup>a</sup>, which I had in my pocket, I advanced towards the KHAN, and calling him by his name, he halted. My situation pleaded its own cause without the assistance of many words, and he immediately ordered his VIZIR<sup>b</sup> to take me up behind him.

Being thus mounted we went slowly for some miles, till the KHAN ordered a horse loaded with baggage to be delivered to me, for which I was to pay 50 crowns. It was too dark to discover if it was a horse, or any other animal: I found that I was obliged to pay a very exorbitant price for a precarious relief, but I consented, as I now should have done, if he had asked 500. One of the conductors of the baggage had compassion on the TARTAR boy, and took him up. As for Mr. HOGG and the RUSSIAN servant, they had hitherto strength to walk; but at length Mr. HOGG complained to me, that he was not able to move any farther, and begged I would relieve him with the use of my horse, to which I consented; but I was soon reduced to the alternative of dismounting my fellow-traveller, or being left on the shore. From that time I saw no more of Mr. HOGG till some days after my arrival in GHILAN.

The apprehensions which the KHAN had conceived of the TURKUMANS carried him on from seven in the evening, till the same hour the next morning; when after a short refreshment, we continued our march till four in the evening. The darkness of the night had been increased by continual rain, whilst the wind, and the beating of the waves on the shore, together with the apprehensions of a savage enemy, added

<sup>a</sup> RAGAM.

<sup>b</sup> Writer, or secretary.

horror to the scene. These circumstances rendered my situation not easy to be understood, except by those who have suffered the severities of a winter-campaign without any of the necessaries of life: but inexperience of such kind of trials adds some weight to them. I was more than once overcome with sleep, and left alone, still it was my good fortune to get up with my company; for our march was often interrupted by the rivers, which at this time were hardly fordable.

The 4th, We received intelligence that a body of TARTARS had been at the house which we left the night before. The fears of MAHOMMED KHAN magnified his danger, insomuch that every shrub appeared to him as a party of the enemy: and during the night he often drew up his men in order of battle, and obliged them to keep their matches lighted. This morning the advanced guard gave the alarm, as if they had discovered a body of armed TURKUMANS posted in a wood by which we must pass, the sea being on the opposite side. The KHAN immediately changed his cloaths, and preparing for battle, gave orders to fire in upon them. When I came up, I found five miserable wretches weltering in their blood, and expiring with the wounds they had received. This formidable enemy proved to be only a party of 20 unarmed AFGHANS, who were going to NADIR's camp as recruits. The next day and night we travelled 20 hours, and at length halted at a village to refresh ourselves, where an odd adventure happened to me. I had hired a barber to shave me, who being questioned if he knew that I was a CHRISTIAN, and consequently unclean, left me in the midst of his work. I could hardly forbear laughing at the figure I made upon this occasion; at the same time I reflected on the folly of the man, or rather of his religion. He was indeed right in one sense; for my cloaths were very dirty, not having been off my back for thirteen days. I was now obliged to forget that tenderness which my constitution seemed to require; and lay on the bare earth, though sometimes I had the fortune to procure a little straw.

The inroads of the CASPIAN, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many rivers and channels of water, some of which were hardly passable. The north-wind also made so great a surge on the shore where

we were obliged to pass, that many horses belonging to our company were thrown down by its violence, and their riders in danger of being drowned. The 6th, I obtained a discharge of the baggage under which my horse laboured: but I found him so weak on his legs, that I chose rather to trust to my own in passing these channels, where I seldom escaped without being wet to the middle. In the evening we arrived at ESPUCHIN, a little village on the sea shore, where by the kindness of SHAHVERDIE BEG I procured some refreshments. I was soon informed that the KHAN was preparing to march, which surprized me very much, as there had been no time to rest his cavalry: but the ill impressions which I had received of him, induced me to go immediately in search of intelligence. The village was situated in a wood very marshy, and abounding in ditches, and the houses scattered in a wild irregular manner. I intended to go where the KHAN was lodged, but night coming on suddenly, I knew not which way to take, or how to recover my own lodgings; so that I wandered a considerable time through ditches and bogs. After being extremely fatigued and perplexed, I discovered a light, and made to it. Here I found one of the AFGHANS, whose companions I mentioned to have been murdered on the sea-shore: he had some women with him, and was preparing for flight: my figure surprized him, and he made a show of defence; but when he learnt that my business was only to find MAHOMMED KHAN, he directed me to him. I would now have gladly cleaned myself, but that was impossible: the KHAN seemed extremely surprized, and I could not explain to him the reason of so extraordinary a visit; but desired to be conducted to my own lodging. The most stupid and ungenerous have their fits of benevolence. I was agreeably surprized to see victuals set before me, with water to wash myself, and a pan of charcoals to warm me. As far as I could discover from gestures, and a few words, the KHAN represented Mr. ELTON's conduct and mine as very extravagant, in attempting to transport our merchandize through ASTRABAD to MESCHED, and expressed a great sensibility of the danger his own person had been exposed to in consequence of the rebellion. At length I was conducted to my lodging, where I found my RUSSIAN servant, who had supported himself very well under his fatigue, and was extremely faithful to me: he was under the ut-

most

most anxiety on my account, having in vain searched after me for some hours.

The 7th, After a forced march the KHAN, thinking himself out of danger, gave his women in charge of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and went to TUNICABUNE, where he pretended he would stop the progress of the rebels. But the truth was, SADOQ AGA, with his TURKUMANS, proceeded no farther in quest of us; for the news of a powerful diversion, with which the main body of the rebels were threatened in KHORASAN, induced him to return back. SHAHVERDIE BEG being now detached from the KHAN, treated me with the greater civility; but having no conveniences of life with him more than what related to his own person, he could not assist me with any thing but provisions.

It is not the custom in travelling in PERSIA for any man to come near the women, except their lord or his servants: but the circumstances we had been in, prevented a scrupulous regard to this distinction, and I had once the office, not the most dignified in PERSIA, of guarding the women. My RUSSIAN servant had yet preserved my blunderbuss, which appeared very formidable to the PERSIANS; for I was several times asked, "if it carried a ball as big as the bore." Those females who are purchasable like other animals, and change their master as often as their cloaths, are but ill entitled to a defence that may endanger one's life; though there are others of the sex for whom one would dare to die. The roads through the woods were very marshy, whilst the sand on the shore, and the trees which the sea had washed down, rendered travelling very disagreeable; but the temperate quality of the air was extremely refreshing. I now first observed the delightful situation of many recesses in the mountains, where they have plenty of delicious running water, with a profusion of vines, orange, and lemon trees.

The 10th, We had passed through the whole province of MAZANDERAN, great part of it in the night, and consequently with very little opportunity of observation, had my mind been enough composed for it. In three and twenty days, since the city of ASTRABAD was taken by the rebels,

rebels, I had not enjoyed an hour of security, or unbroken sleep. We were drawing near to LANGAROOD, whence I had departed about seven weeks before, and was now as desirous to see it again, as if it had been my proper home. Mr. ELTON having been informed that I was on the road, sent Mr. LOFTUS his interpreter, with a servant, and one of his best horses, to meet me. I was much surprized to find, that the news of the ASTRABAD rebellion had not reached Mr. ELTON above two days, though the distance does not much exceed 200 miles: but there is no civilized country, if PERSIA may be called such, where there is so little communication, or more irregular intelligence.

I took my leave of SHAHVERDIE BEG, and returned him my sincerest thanks for the kindness he had shewn me, to which my preservation was in a great degree owing: it was therefore the greater concern to me to hear, that the character he bore was not much superior to that of MAHOMMED KHAN. The SHAH, not long before this time, had given SHAHVERDIE BEG directions about the execution of a certain business, and ordered him at the same time to be bastinadoed. The king then asked him: "Do you know why you have been beaten?" He answered in the negative: "It is," says the SHAH, "that in remembering the blows, you may remember also the charge I have given you; and without which I am sure you would have forgotten it." Extraordinary as this conduct may appear, it was an instance of NADIR's sagacity, according to the principles by which he was generally directed. For SHAHVERDIE BEG, though my friend, was a thoughtless, vain fellow, whose affinity with some great men in the camp, had been the only means of saving him more than once from much severer punishments. I related to Mr. LOFTUS the treatment I had received from MAHOMMED KHAN, and soon discovered that Mr. ELTON and the KHAN were not friends. The latter was envious of Mr. ELTON's growing power with the SHAH, and instead of forwarding, sought to obstruct the new design of building ships on the CASPIAN; and knowing the relation I had to Mr. ELTON, he had acted, as the reader may judge, as if he was very indifferent about my preservation.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

*The author is kindly received by Mr. ELTON. He resolves to go in search of the SHAH; and in the way is received by HAHDGEE ZAMON with great politeness. Character of MAHOMMED KHAN. State of PERSIA in regard to rebellion. PERSIAN manner of eating, and the nature of their beds.*

MR. ELTON received me with open arms, and congratulated me on having escaped with my life and liberty. He seemed confident that the SHAH would do us justice, and indeed the people, as I came along, were every where of that opinion, though they very much arraigned his prudence and my own for making this attempt. I had already resolved, if necessary, to go in search of the SHAH, who was then in TURKEY; but my legs and feet were much swelled and bruised, my boots not having been off for sixteen days: some time was also necessary to provide myself fresh cloathing, not having saved any part of what I carried to ASTRABAD.

I acquainted Mr. ELTON where I had left MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN servant, and also my clerk Mr. HOGG, whose situation I was very apprehensive would expose him to some misfortune. Mr. ELTON immediately sent servants and horses in quest of him, and after a few days he was brought home. He had overtaken MAHOMMED KHAN near the borders of GHILAN, who according to the treatment I had received of him, had provided Mr. HOGG a horse, for which he was to pay a considerable price, though the beast fell under him before he had advanced two miles. Mr. HOGG now appeared as a man expiring in a lingering consumption: he had been two days and three nights exposed to the cold and rain without any food or shelter; five several times robbed, till they left him almost naked, and being often in danger of his life, was at length relieved by the charity of some monks<sup>a</sup>, whose retreat in the mountains he had the good fortune to discover. As to MATTEUSE, and the other ARMENIAN whom I left at BALFRUSH, they did

<sup>a</sup> There are certain DERVISES, or religious men among the PERSIANS, who lead a recluse life.

not come home till three weeks after, so that they escaped these severe hardships. SADOE AGA gave them a passport at BALFUSH under his seal, the pompous style of which, considering his circumstances, will give the reader an idea of oriental language, as well as of PERSIAN folly.

“ To the victorious armies be it known, that MATTEUSE the ARMENIAN  
“ is here. Let him not be molested, but live under our shadow.”

The 12th, I received the news, that Mr. PANTON, one of the ENGLISH factors, died of a jaundice at CASSIN, in his way to MESCHED. He was the fifth person that died since 1740 out of sixteen EUROPEANS, who had been employed in the BRITISH CASPIAN trade.

Mr. ELTON finding that he could not procure men for the ship-yard, notwithstanding SHAHVERDIE BEG had received the SHAH's orders to supply them; sent out a small party armed with clubs to take them by force; but instead of executing their business, they laid down their arms, and deserted. This had irritated SHAHVERDIE BEG in such a manner, that we expected to be attacked in our turn. Being thus upon terms of enmity, Mr. ELTON ordered the two three pounders, which were planted before his door, to be loaded with cartridge shot; and we all put ourselves in a posture of defence.

As I had already been sufficiently entertained in the hostile way, and should not have chosen to pierce that breast<sup>b</sup>, to which I had been a few days before indebted for my preservation, I took my leave of Mr. ELTON, and set out for RESHD. It had rained incessantly for several days, which rendered the roads extremely bad, till we advanced higher into the mountain, where the soil is gravelly. Though GHILAN was reputed to be under the least unhappy circumstances of any province in PERSIA, yet the villages were in a very ruinous condition. From LANGAROOD to LAHIJAN is about seven ENGLISH miles: the latter being on an eminence, and dry, is esteemed the most wholesome in the province; for here the mountains open a passage for the wind. The rains had filled a large spot of ground, and formed a square regular piece of water, in which were abundance of wild fowl: in the centre of it stood a grove upon a

<sup>b</sup> SHAHVERDIE BEG.

rising ground, which served to beautify the prospect, and render it as delightful as the rudeness of the season would admit. Here I was received by HAHDGEE ZAMON, who was distinguished for his good sense, as well as authority in that place.

The PERSIANS, who boast of the antiquity of their monarchy and government, have still a remembrance of that learning and politeness for which they have been for so many ages distinguished all over ASIA. Being ignorant of the vast improvements that are made by their neighbours the RUSSIANS, they consider themselves in general as greatly superior to them; the truth is, they see very few but their unpolished merchants, or ruder seamen. During our perilous journey through MAZANDERAN, my RUSSIAN servant had always slept in the same apartment with me; and now forgetting the distinction, he came into the room where we sat, and fell asleep. I begged the HAHDGEE's pardon, which with great politeness he granted; but not without making some remarks on the unpolished manners of the RUSSIANS; adding however that under their government GHILAN was rich, and that he believed the inhabitants would not think it any unhappiness if the RUSSIANS were again masters of that province. He then complained aloud of the present government, reflecting on the meanness of NADIR's birth, and of the persons employed by him; speaking in favour of none of the grandees, except KASSIM KHAN, and MUSTAPHA KHAN. I took notice to him in what manner I had been treated by MAHOMMED KHAN: "You must not be surprized," says he, "MAHOMMED KHAN is a very mean person. A few years since he was sent to the river ATTOK, to build rafts for the army, when the SHAH made his expedition into INDIA. The KHAN had also orders to collect provisions, which he performed to the satisfaction of the SHAH. He was afterwards sent to MAZANDERAN to collect timber to be transported by land a-cross the PERSIAN empire to GAMBROON; this he performed, though at the price of the ruin of that province, of which he was afterwards made governor. There he collected the taxes, according to the style of this country, very well; that is, with the utmost oppression. I am amazed at his

" treat-

“ treatment of you : it is true, he is extremely avaritious ; but the protec-  
 “ tion and even hospitality you was entitled to upon every principle of  
 “ justice, could not have cost him any thing ; and would have been high-  
 “ ly to his reputation : however you see how mean a soul he has.” Mr.  
 LOFTUS, whom Mr. ELTON had now lent me as an interpreter, then  
 took notice, that some officers and soldiers belonging to MAHOMMED  
 KHAN, knowing we were going to the camp, had desired him to say no-  
 thing concerning the conduct of their general, who had behaved as ill to  
 Mr. ELTON in the maritime business, as he had done to me in my dis-  
 tress.

It is common for men in the fulness of the heart to complain of the  
 evils they suffer, even when they enjoy a large portion of good. The  
 HAHNGEE, who saw the miseries of his country, and had been pillaged in  
 common with others, now broke out into many exclamations. “ I must  
 “ confess,” says he, “ our king is a man of great natural parts, and in-  
 “ flexibly just in some instances ; but he acts as if he meant to ruin this  
 “ poor country by the most despicable instruments : he employs only  
 “ men of the lowest birth and education. It is true, he has cut off num-  
 “ bers of them for their wickedness ; but they are insatiable, and take no  
 “ warning. The SHAH himself is in his nature cruel ; but these men im-  
 “ prove on his cruelty : if they are sent to take my cap, they take my  
 “ head also : for the distance of the court often encourages their insolence.  
 “ Oppression will make a wise man mad ; and despair will drive people  
 “ to rebellion, of which you have lately had a sad experience. When the  
 “ farmers hear of insurrections near them, they oftentimes refuse not on-  
 “ ly to pay their taxes, but their rents also : this sometimes involves us  
 “ in extreme misery : but the greatest distress of this country is owing to  
 “ robbers, who bring all things into confusion, and these are the constant  
 “ attendants upon rebellions.”

Supper being now brought in, a servant presented a basin of water,  
 and a napkin hung over his shoulders : he went to every one in the  
 company, and poured water on their hands to wash. In the court-yard  
 stood a large lamp, which was supplied with tallow, and in the middle of  
 the

the room upon the floor, was one large wax-candle ; which they snuffed with sciffers into a tea-cup of water. A large falver in form of a tea-board was set before every person, covered with a plate of pleo, on which was a finall quantity of minced meat mixed up with fruits and spices. There were also plates of comfits, several china-basons of sherbets<sup>c</sup>, as sweet, sour, and other waters, with cakes of rice, and others of wheat flower, on which were sprinkled the seeds of poppies, and others of the like nature. As they esteem it an abomination to cut either bread, or any kind of meat, after it is dressed, these cakes are made thin, that they may be easily broken with the hand, and their meat, which is generally mutton, or fowls, is so prepared, that they divide it with their fingers. When every thing was set in order before them, they eat fast, and without any ceremony, feeding themselves with their fingers. It must be confessed, that the PERSIANS are not very nice in their manner of eating ; for they grease their hands, and besmear their beards. Supper was no sooner over, than warm water was brought to wash, which being done, they resumed their discourse. And here it is worthy of remark, that when the oldest man in the company speaks, though he be poor, and set at the lower end of the room, they all give a strict attention to his words.

Soon after supper the company retired, and beds were taken out of nitches made in the wall for that purpose, and laid on the carpets. They consisted only of two thick cotton quilts, one of which was folded double, and served as a mattress, and the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head. The PERSIANS usually sleep in their under garment and drawers, by which means they are less subject to catch cold than we are, as well as much sooner dressed and undressed. I was struck with this simplicity which renders useles so many things, that in EUROPE are thought essential to the well-being of life. This is the ordinary method ; but their princes and great men, who indulge themselves in a higher taste, use sheets, and other delicate appurtenances of a bed ; though without any of that parade which is practised in EUROPE ; nor do they crowd their apartments with unnecessary and superfluous furniture.

<sup>c</sup> This is a PERSIAN word, though well understood in EUROPE.

The 18th, I set forward for RESHD, well satisfied with the last night's entertainment. I found the trees blown down, and the roads much broken up; the fascines of which they were made, being uncovered. Though in general the country is marshy, yet the bridges are quite neglected. It rained incessantly for nine hours very heavily. Passing by several plantations of mulberry-trees, and the burying-ground of some of my countrymen lately dead, I arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. ELTON had his house for commercial affairs. Here I was visited by Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the only two ENGLISH gentlemen in that city, Mr. VAN MIEROP being gone to MESCHED. Though there was a great jealousy subsisting between Mr. BROWN and Mr. ELTON, yet I received great marks of friendship and politeness from the former: I had also a visit from three FRENCH missionaries, of whom one professed physic, and was afterwards in great esteem with NADIR SHAH, having cured him of a dangerous disorder. The SHAH expressed his gratitude by several presents of value; but this missionary happening unluckily to be in the camp when NADIR was put to death<sup>d</sup>; he was stripped, and narrowly escaped being murdered. They were all three sensible, polite men, particularly father LE GARDE, who had been many years in PERSIA, and resided at ISFAHAN, when it was taken by the AFGHANS, and of whom I learnt some particulars in relation to NADIR SHAH.

The 20th, I visited ORDO KOULI BEG, governor of the province, whose usual residence is in RESHD. Here I had a specimen of PERSIAN insolence, by the opposition which, without any authority, and contrary to custom, a creature of MAHOMMED KHAN made to my going into the governor's presence. The governor, who was an old man, received me with great civility, and as the custom of EUROPEANS is well known in this province, he immediately ordered a chair to be set for me. I acquainted him of the misfortune that had befallen me, and that I was going to seek justice of the SHAH; and therefore desired he would inform me where I should most probably find him. He said he could not give me any exact intelligence, but believed the SHAH would be in TURKEY,

<sup>d</sup> Above three years after this time.

or not far from the borders of SYRIA. The apartment was full of people seated on NÆMETS<sup>c</sup> spread round the sides of the room, the servants and soldiers standing in the square below. I took my leave of the governor, and paid a visit to M. BAKOONIN the RUSSIAN consul: As he seemed to have always a desire to render the BRITISH factors of as little consideration as possible in the eye of the PERSIANS, he did not return my visit in three days: but being disposed to cultivate a good understanding with him, I sent him word, that I was sorry for his INDISPOSITION; he understood the reproof, and immediately came to see me that very day, making many excuses for his delay.

Having provided myself with cloaths, bedding, and kitchen furniture, likewise with tents, mules, and horses, as well as fire-locks and sabres for my five attendants, the 26th I set out on my journey. I observed on this occasion, that large mules are as dear here as in PORTUGAL; one, I remember, cost me 250 crowns<sup>c</sup>: they are incomparably the most useful animal in rocky countries, being very sure footed, and able to carry great burthens for long journies. The country here about abounds with fields of rice, and plantations of mulberry-trees: some of the mountains are covered with cyprus-trees, others are naked rocks rising upon rocks to a vast height: lawns and arable lands with some mean villages are interspersed in the valleys. We travelled this day to KOHTUNE, which is about 18 miles from RESHD; the elders of the place being absent, we were obliged to set up in a caravanferai, which was really an old stable in ruin: from KOHTUNE, for 5 or 6 english miles the country is marshy. Passing the river KIZILAZAN we ascended the mountains by the RAHDAR<sup>c</sup> of NOGLABAR, where, having no merchandize, we passed for a small acknowledgment. From thence we proceeded 22 miles to RUSTUMABAD, a ruined caravanferai, famous for having been the rendezvous of a band of robbers: From thence through LUAH 16 miles to ROODEAR, on the banks of the river KIZILASAN; the country is well covered with olive, orange, and other trees, and in the neighbourhood there is also dry arable land. This place lies on the declivity of a hill, from whence runs a

<sup>c</sup> Felts of camels hair.<sup>d</sup> Sixty-two pounds ten shillings.<sup>e</sup> A PERSIAN toll.

stream of water conveyed by channels to the roots of the olive-trees, which the peasants cultivate with great assiduity. The heat of the weather, though we were now in February, fatigued us extremely.

The 28th, We passed the KIZILAZAN in canoes, into which we loaded our baggage, and swam over our horses and mules; the stream was so rapid, that it carried some of them near a quarter of a mile. As we ascended the mountains, the climate was much altered, and the wind blew so hard, that we were obliged to dismount, for fear of being blown down the precipice, for in many places the path is not two feet wide. The mountain rises steep on one side, and the valley, in which are some branches of the KIZILAZAN, is on the other. We travelled this day about 18 miles. The day following the road was very bad; for we were obliged to pass the same river about thirty times in two hours, as the path on different sides conducted us, while the rocks rose perpendicular from the river<sup>f</sup>. We came about 25 miles to a caravanferai very much ruined, where we thought it necessary to keep a strict watch.

The 1st of March, we travelled three FARSANGS<sup>g</sup> over mountains: this passage is so extremely narrow, that part of the SHAH's army, in passing that way not many months before, lost several men and horses, which tumbled down the precipices. At length we came upon the great plain of CASBIN, which was covered three feet deep with snow: a narrow foot-path was trodden, but our horses and mules often tumbled from it, and plunged into the snow; upon which occasions we were obliged to unload the mules in order to recover the path. The reflection of the sun upon the snow became so extremely painful to my eyes, that I could not proceed on my journey without great difficulty. The little villages upon this plain are built so, that half the houses are under the surface of the earth, and the tops of them formed into a cone, for the convenience of carrying off the snow. We arrived that evening to a little village near AGA-BABA, where we were obliged to take up with a ruined stable, and also to keep watch all night. The day following we set out some time be-

<sup>f</sup> This place is supposed to be the FAUCES HYRCANIÆ.

<sup>g</sup> 12 miles.

fore sun-rise, as well to avoid the danger of being blinded by the reflection of the sun-beams, as to enjoy the benefit of a firmer road.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Description of the city of CASBIN, and of the palace built by NADIR SHAH. - Conversation with a PERSIAN merchant with regard to the trade of PERSIA. Further conversation with the same merchant concerning the calamitous condition of PERSIA.*

BEING arrived at CASBIN, I paid my compliments to HAHDGEE ABDULCRIM, the greatest merchant in the place. He provided me with a good house near his own, and told me that I must submit to stay some time in that city, as it was impossible to proceed on my journey on account of the snow; adding that 800 AFGHANS were in the city, who had been for some time prevented from continuing their march to the camp; and that for the same reason 50 camels laden with rice for the use of the SHAH's army, had been obliged to return after one day's journey. Several couriers arrived, some of whom had their eyes so injured by the reflection of the sun on the snow, that they could not see at all. The HAHDGEE observed further, that they must submit to this inconvenience, for the plenty of their harvest depended in a great measure on the snow. The houses here are for the most part below the surface of the earth, as are many of the gardens joining to them, to obtain the convenience of water, which is brought to them from a considerable distance in channels; for as we usually bring water up to our houses, they level their houses to the water, which however are not the less agreeable in hot weather: they are generally built with sun-dried bricks, and their cement is a strong lime: the roofs are flat, so that it is easy and familiar to sleep on the house-tops. These buildings are enclosed with a mud-wall; they consist of two divisions, the outer stands in a large area, and consists of a spacious room<sup>a</sup>, one side of which is open, and supported with pillars. In these they dispatch their business, and also eat, when they do

<sup>a</sup> The AIYAN.

not retire to the women's apartment. There are niches in the wall, which answer the purpose of tables: the floors are covered with large worsted carpets; and on the sides of the room are felts about a yard broad, and are generally two or three yards long; these are called NÆMETS, as already mentioned, and are made either with wool, or camels hair, and being very thick and soft, are used for sitting upon. In the wings of this apartment there are smaller rooms for lodging: and in the same yard are apartments for the servants, and also their stables. On the back part of this building is another, likewise enclosed by a wall; which, for the sake of privacy, is generally entered by two turnings: here is the women's apartment<sup>b</sup>, into which no man is suffered to enter except the master of it.

The water in CASBIN has an exceeding bad reputation; I corrected its quality by boiling raisins and barley with it, by which means none of us found any inconvenience. The badness of this water, with the sudden changes of the weather, affect strangers in such a manner, that it is remarkable that numbers leave records of their sickness in writings on the walls of the great caravanferai.

This city stands on very high land, though a plain, which is surrounded with mountains at some miles distance; the air is fine and subtil. In summer the heats and colds alternately succeed each other, and though the days are very hot, in the nights the winds are extremely piercing; the abundance of fruit which the common people eat, contributes greatly to the unwholesomeness of the place. The 3d, I visited the HAHDGEE, who insisted on my dining with him: their hour is about 11 in the morning; he had milks differently prepared, cheese somewhat like our curds, comfits, and cakes of bread. It is the custom here, as in most parts of ASIA, to make but two meals, of which the most considerable is in the evening, as practised in the southern parts of EUROPE: and at this season of the year they begin to sleep two or three hours after dinner. The HAHDGEE enquired how I liked PERSIA: I told him ASTRABAD and RESHD were the only places I had seen; that he knew I was but ill treated in the for-

<sup>b</sup> HARAM, this word signifies prohibited to men.

mer: he then enquired after that rebellion, and informed me with a seeming concern, that those rebels were already defeated. I acquainted him upon what business I was going, and asked his opinion of it; to which he answered: "You may be perfectly assured the king will do you justice. "One of our own merchants lately sold the value of 20,000 crowns to the BASHA of BABYLON, for the payment of which he received an order on the BASHA of BASSORA; in the interim the SHAH besieged BASSORA, so that the BASHA refused payment. The merchant then complained to the SHAH, who immediately ordered him payment out of any of his treasuries he should chuse; and accordingly he has been paid 10,000 crowns in RESHD, 5000 in ISFAHAN, and 5000 at CASHAN. The BASHA, not caring to be out-done in generosity, has repaid the money to the SHAH." He then added further: "You ought to thank GOD for your misfortune; if you had not been plundered in ASTRABAD, some worse evil would have befallen you. The trade to MESCHED is not proper for EUROPEANS; there is no-body can take off goods in any large quantities; the PERSIAN merchants are extremely poor." I observed to him, that the ENGLISH company at ISFAHAN had formerly a considerable trade all over the empire, and particularly in ISFAHAN and CASBIN. To which he replied: "CASBIN had then twelve thousand houses inhabited, and now it has only eleven hundred; see from this eminence how this poor city is in ruins! nor is ISFAHAN much better; that city had formerly a hundred thousand houses well inhabited, of which many were not much inferior in splendor to the royal palace, which is the glory of the world: but incredible as it may seem to you, I am assured that only 5000 houses are now inhabited. I have formerly been at ISFAHAN with a caravan of 30,000 crowns value, and in less than three months returned home with my capital, and a profit of 4000; now I could not sell 3000 crowns in ten months. Alas! sir, you know not to what misery we are reduced." To this I replied: "I am very sorry to hear your complaints, and to see so much reason for them; for CASBIN indeed appears in ruins. When your sovereign has accomplished his designs, surely he will change his system: he can never mean to destroy the people; for that would be in effect

“ effect to destroy himself. In EUROPE he is considered as a great prince  
“ and conqueror, who has restored the PERSIAN monarchy, and filled the  
“ royal treasuries with the spoils of INDIA. I am very sensible that it sel-  
“ dom happens, that the ambition of princes contributes to the happiness  
“ of their people, though it often occasions their misery. We have had  
“ many instances of this in EUROPE. It is true, the king of SWEDEN  
“ was at length as unfortunate as he was rash: and FRANCE, which is  
“ one of the most formidable powers in EUROPE, has lately distressed her  
“ subjects extremely by this vain desire of conquest.” The HAHADGEE  
replied: “ Who was it that restored the PERSIAN empire but the PER-  
“ SIANS; and who assisted the king to conquer INDIA but the PERSIANS?  
“ He has now a foreign force, and governs us with an army of TARTARS.”  
The circumstances I was in, made me think it proper to decline a further  
discussion of so tender a point, and I took my leave.

I then went to see the new palace which NADIR SHAH had built in this  
city adjoining the old one: the entrance of it is formed by an avenue of lofty  
trees near three hundred yards long, and fifteen or twenty broad. The  
wall round it is about an ENGLISH mile and a half in circumference; it is  
thick and lofty, having only one entrance, which is an arched gate; the  
top of this gate projects, and is formed into many small squares: within  
are four large squares, with lofty trees, fountains, and running water, which  
make the place awful and majestic. The apartments are raised about six  
feet from the ground: the AIVAN, or open hall, is in the center, and  
shuts in with falling doors. The apartments are ornamented in an IN-  
DIAN taste; and the ciplings formed into small squares, imbellished with  
writings of moral sentences in very legible characters: most of the win-  
dows are of thick-coloured glass, made transparent, and painted with such  
art, and in such proper shades, that the glass seems cut into the several  
figures it is designed to represent: many of the floors are only of hard  
earth, others of a composition of beaten stone: the seeming defect  
in this instance is made up by the constant use of carpets.

The HARRAM is magnificent, consisting of a square within its own  
wall of brick, about 30 feet high and 24 thick: there are four distinct  
apart-

apartments, in some of which are fountains, which serve to moderate the heat of summer, by giving the air a refreshing coolness. The rooms are lined with stocco work, painted in the INDIAN taste, with birds and flowers of different magnitudes, the colours beautiful, and set off with gilt edgings: the apartments have small chimney-pieces in a mean taste, and some are ornamented with looking-glasses in small squares, of many different dimensions, set into the walls. There are some few apartments below ground, admirably contrived for coolness. Near the HARRAM is the EUNUCH's apartment, remarkable only for its having but one door, and that a very strong one. The brick of which the whole of the modern building is made, appears to be ill prepared for duration. Here are also some old apartments built by SHAH ABAS yet standing, in which are some bad pieces of EUROPEAN figures by EUROPEAN painters: the PERSIANS themselves are as ignorant of shades as the CHINESE. The apartment, where the SHAH kept his CASBIN treasury, I was not permitted to see, not even the place where it stood: they said he had above twenty millions of crowns\* there, of which part was in large ingots of gold, run into cavities in the earth, the better to secure it from being plundered.

CASBIN is famous for having driven out the AFGHANS on their first coming into PERSIA; but their revolt cost dear to the inhabitants of ISFAHAN, as I shall hereafter relate. This city is inclosed within a wall above a mile in each square, with a great number of regular turrets and port-holes for arrows. It is famous in story, as being one of the chief cities of the antient PARTHIA, the residence of many of the PERSIAN kings, and the burial-place of EPHESTION the favourite of ALEXANDER the GREAT.

The 9th, Though the sun was warm, yet as the snow lay very deep, it was impossible to attempt the prosecution of my journey; and here were several companies and caravans in the same circumstances. I thought myself very happily lodged in the HAHDGEE's house; but some part of it partook of the common ruin: for this day the top of the stable, in which my horses and mules were lodged, tumbled in; and it was with

\* Four millions of our money.

difficulty we saved them from being suffocated ; but by a singular good fortune they escaped with a few bruises only.

The 10th, This being the PERSIAN new-years day, I went to pay my compliments to the HAHDGEE, and to wish him happiness. "Alas," said he, "what happiness have we to expect? I am now paying 5000 crowns a year to the SHAH in duties, and he demands 5000 more for subsistence-money; how am I to support my family? I am sure my trade will not do it; if the king goes on at this rate, in another year we must make money of wood, for neither gold nor silver will appear except in his treasuries. Nor is this the only calamity under which we groan; we are often beaten for what we have not: Human flesh and bones can never agree with a stick; what are men to do under such circumstances? If they do not take up arms against their sovereign, they must fly their country. I know that our king is a very extraordinary person; but he has no mercy, and acts more like a thief than a king." This discourse seemed to be the sequel of what he had a mind to say a few days before: I made answer, "I apprehend, Sir, the conquest of the AFGHANS about 20 years ago, and the ravages committed in consequence of foreign wars and intestine broils, have given a wrong bent to the minds of the PERSIANS; many of them certainly deserve chastisement, and their punishment must often involve the innocent in great calamities. It is true, I do not understand the politics of your king; but I hope he has some good in store for you." At this the company, several persons being present, lifting up their eyes to heaven, prayed that it might be so. The HAHDGEE then resumed the discourse, and asked me, "what I had observed in PERSIA": I told him, "that where-ever I had been, there seemed to be a great want of people, of industry, and of money:" to which he replied, "I have already told you in what distress we are in for want of money, and with what cruelty we are treated: this has induced thousands of our people to fly for shelter into INDIA: and though we

<sup>d</sup> There has been always a considerable number of PERSIANS settled in INDIA, particularly in the trading towns on the coast of COROMANDEL and MALABAR; but the HAHDGEE alluded to those who had taken refuge in the northern and western parts of INDIA.

“ hate the TURKS more than we do the CHRISTIANS ; yet it is incredible  
 “ what a number of PERSIANS have taken refuge in TURKEY.”

This sort of discourse, however interesting to the PERSIANS, was not altogether proper for me. I observed they made no sort of scruple of calling their king a RASCAL<sup>e</sup> ; nor was he ignorant in general in what manner they treated him ; but he punished only those persons who were acute and refined in their lampoons, as I shall have occasion more fully to explain hereafter.

I had this day an opportunity of observing how ill the priests in some countries instruct the people in the essentials of religion ; my RUSSIAN servant, in whose commendation I have already spoken, had thrown some superfluous meat into the street, alledging that he would sooner give it to dogs than to MAHOMMEDANS, several miserable wretches being then waiting for it, whose hunger would not have suffered the nice distinction of refusing food from a CHRISTIAN.

Being near my departure, I rode about to see every thing that was worth notice ; in particular the market-place<sup>f</sup>, which had once made a considerable figure ; three parts of it were now in ruins ; and old women appeared in several of the shops, which in former times was not practised. Here is a very noted caravanserai, with a large entrance and a magnificent dome ; it has a great square surrounded with piazzas, within which are lodgings and apartments for the reception of merchandize. This building cost 27,000 crowns : here we paid a visit to the governor of VARA-MIE, who was under the custody of a messenger, and going to the camp.

NESR KOULI MYRZA, the SHAH's second son, and general of his forces in SHIRVAN, had now demanded a supply of 500,000 crowns in silver, which required 130 mules. The governor, who had this commission, accordingly seized all the mules he could find, paying for them what price he pleased : he insisted upon mine till I represented to him the indignity he would offer me as a foreigner, and the violence as being under

<sup>e</sup> The word they use is KURUMSACK.

<sup>f</sup> BAZAR.

the king's immediate protection; that if he took the mules by force, he might be well assured, the king should be informed very minutely of it; upon which he thought proper to desist. At the same time a nephew of the SHAH's first secretary came to visit me, requesting that I would take a parcel for his uncle; but that he must first consult whether it was a lucky hour: he did not return, so that I concluded his priest had marked me out for further disasters.

C H A P. XXXV.

*The author sets out from CASBIN for the PERSIAN camp. The most material events till his arrival in the camp. Remarkable instances of the superstition of the PERSIANS.*

ON the 11th, the weather was now warm, and great part of the snow melted: the caravan with the 500,000 crowns, guarded by 800 AFGHANS, begun their march; I therefore set out on my journey, directing my course towards HAMADAN; for it was reported, that the several rebellions on foot, particularly that of SHIRAS, had induced the SHAH to return home, and that the army was in full march towards that city. I thought it essential to my security under so distracted a state of things, to join a large company who were going to the camp; among these was a young officer, the son of a wealthy merchant of ISFAHAN. It is a common custom for the kings of PERSIA, to take a son out of every rich family, that the wealth of the parents may be a security for the good conduct of the son. When men's interest do not clash, their being of the same profession often induces them to shew a more distinguished regard to each other; particularly among young persons, whose affections are untainted by the world: this young man, though a foldier by necessity, considered himself as a merchant, and shewed me great kindness.

As we travelled on hardly any thing took my sight but the ruins of towns and villages; the richness of the soil, and the softness of the climate, rendering this prospect so much the more lamentable. The next day we met four couriers from the camp, from whom we learnt, that the

SHAH was marching towards HAMADAN. This country abounds in elks, which seemed to be as fleet as birds; for none of our horses could reach them: the PERSIANS call them GIRAN, and pretend there is musk near their tails. The skeletons of several camels were lying near the road, the flesh of which had been consumed by wolves: this animal is very ill qualified to travel upon the snow, or wet ground; the breadth in which they carry their legs, when they slip, often occasions their splitting themselves; so that when they fall with great burthens, they seldom rise again: they are most useful, as is well known, in deserts and plain dry countries, and will travel two or three days with little or no water. The weather was extremely delightful, but we could not travel above five leagues a day.

It seemed to be established as a custom in PERSIA, for military people to pillage where-ever they go, at least to compel the peasants to procure provisions for them: this often occasions the latter being deaf to all importunities on any principle of humanity, or the laws of hospitality. We arrived at a village, the houses of which were built with stone, and made so defensible, that we could not procure any entrance, till we prepared to take a house by scaling the walls.

The 13th, We met four couriers going to CASBIN, with orders for the forces there to march to SHIRVAN, to join NESR KOULI MYRZA: we were often necessitated to take up with lodgings in so ruinous a condition, that I was apprehensive of falling into the same circumstances as my horses had been in at CASBIN. Besides the distresses occasioned by NADIR's tyranny, most of the towns and villages, on the frontiers of TURKEY, having been ruined by the TURKS, and the inhabitants carried into slavery, the whole appeared as a scene of desolation: as we approached the few villages, the inhabitants taking us for soldiers or robbers, which was much the same, fled into the mountains, and left us to provide for ourselves.

The 14th, Our advanced guard, discovering a party whom they took for robbers, detached a horseman to inform us of our danger; upon which we halted, and put ourselves in a posture of defence. A youth  
belong-

belonging to our company, by profession a writer, was missing; his master, one of the SHAH's adjutants, began to rave, protesting he would find his writer, or finish his life; for without him he could not settle his accounts with the SHAH: accordingly he demanded the assistance of a few others, and prepared to go in search of the youth; but happily he came up with us, having escaped by the swiftness of his horse. I now first learnt, that all my PERSIAN fellow-travellers were in the custody of a messenger, who was conveying them to the camp, and consequently would not consent to their separation. Such were the terrors of NADIR's tyranny, that this single person kept eight or ten officers of distinction, with all their servants, as prisoners. I took particular notice of one of them, who was a BAL-LOUCHE of the tribes in the eastern parts of PERSIA, who are almost black: he was well mounted, armed, and attended; but in debt to almost every one in the company, who apprehending him to be in no small danger of his life from the resentment of the SHAH, demanded his horse and armour in payment. He gave them a silver CAALLEAN gilt with gold, likewise his bow and arrows, the quiver of which was covered with black velvet, and studded with gold nails. Though this man's annual appointment did not exceed 240 crowns, and he had no other revenue; yet the value of his horses and mules, and their appurtenances, did not fall short of 1000 crowns. He was very communicative, and finding me an EUROPEAN, he spoke without reserve: I am," says he, come from ISFAHAN, where I have been two years raising forces for the SHAH, and "have procured him 2000 men; one thousand is the usual number which "he annually draws from that city. In requital he has lately taken from "me 4000 crowns, and I am now under apprehension of some other act "of violence. It is no uncusomary thing with my master to send for a "man in order to strangle him; and indeed, as to my part, I should be "glad to compound for a severe beating;" intimating that he expected death. He was a rank predestinarian, as most of the MAHOMMEDANS are; however he endeavoured to learn by heart a prayer composed by HUSEIN, one of ALI's sons, which if repeated right in the presence of the king, he said, it would divert his wrath; but if falsely, increase it. He talked much of the force of words, and the power of the almighty: at

the same time he told us stories of the feats of MAHOMMED, particularly concerning his imaginary journey into heaven ; which were all the genuine produce of gross superstition. And here it is worthy of remark, that the MAHOMMEDANS do assign a very exalted state of glory to JESUS CHRIST ; and though they do not confess his divinity, they approach to that opinion. This officer had also another spell, which, by pretended divine authority, he proposed to use, viz. the repetition of ten particular letters in the alphabet, as he entered the royal tent, closing a finger at each, and keeping the fist clasped till he came before the throne, he was suddenly to open his hands, and by the discharge of this magic artillery, to subdue the king's wrath.

It is amazing to consider in how many instances the PERSIANS demonstrate the highest superstition : sneezing is held a most happy omen, especially when repeated often : the hands with the fingers interchanged, and some particular posture of the body, are considered as full of magic power, and if used maliciously, of dangerous consequence. As their minds are tainted with a fondness for whatever is marvellous, and a belief of the agency of invisible powers on the most trivial occasions ; they think the meteors that resemble falling stars, and which are vulgarly called so, are the blows of angels on the heads of the devils, who would pry into the secrets of paradise. Cats are held in great esteem, but dogs in abomination ; so that a dog is never permitted to come into any room : they sometimes however use them at their diversions. The TURKS are not much behind them in this folly : in the reign of SHAH ABAS the GRAND SEIGNIOR sent to that prince, to desire that as none but their prophet and his children had been dressed in green, none of his subjects might be permitted to wear that colour, especially in stockings. To this SHAH ABAS, who was a man of understanding, made answer, that if the GRAND SEIGNIOR would prevent the dogs pissing on the grass in TURKEY, he would comply with the request.

The learned men in PERSIA are fond of astrology, and often pretend to foretel events ; but NADIR treated their predictions with great contempt. It is said, that sometime since a certain person foretold the conquest of

PERSIA by the AFGHANS, with all its circumstances; adding, that PERSIA would be again restored by a person resembling NADIR; and that in a certain year of their æra, the kingdom would flourish, and be governed with great equity. NADIR being apprized of all these predictions, took occasion to be very oppressive that year, as well to expose such opinions, as to gratify his own avarice.

But to resume my narrative: we travelled six leagues this day, of which two were out of our road, in order to obtain necessary accommodations; and now leaving the province of IRAK, we came into ABARSULTAN. The 15th, hail and extreme cold made this day's journey very disagreeable: the day following we came into the district of CALIMBRO, where HAMADAN is situated, having been eleven hours on horseback, in which time we had travelled seven FARSANG; part of the road being covered with snow, and very difficult to pass. The whole country still appeared a dreary waste: the great number of ruined towns and villages, gave proof of its former state; but hardly any of them were inhabited, except by robbers who infest the country. Barley is the common food for horses; but we could procure none for many leagues; so that we were obliged to give them wheat; a common feed of which for three horses and as many mules cost a crown.

On the 17th we came to a village, the gates of which were of stone; it was walled in, and made defensible, as well against robbers, as the wolves, which often destroy the cattle in hard weather. Here they keep their corn in large vessels of earth made like a tun, and set in the ground; they also warm themselves by wood-fires made in holes cut in the floor; when burnt to ashes they cover them with blankets, to confine the heat, which renders the air very suffocating.

As we approached to the camp, the dread of my companions increased, and with it their superstition. Finding the bone of a sheep, they set it, as they supposed, perpendicular, accounting that if it fell towards the camp, all would go well; if from it, they must prepare for their fate: it of course fell where they had given the poise, which was on the right side.

Soon

Soon after, two large wolves crossed the road not far before us ; this they considered also as a lucky omen ; but notwithstanding these good omens, they must beware of the camp ; for on this day three hundred thousand plagues are sent from heaven on the earth ; however the next day would be propitious, if they went to the camp at a certain hour.

About noon we arrived at a small village, where an advanced guard of the army were posted, to protect the villagers, as is customary when the camp is near. The commander of these forces declared, that he could not find quarters for the PERSIANS, who were in my company, and insisted that they must go directly to the camp ; but on their pleading, that they had paid honourably for every thing they had been supplied with on the road, and that they were also charged with the care of me, they were suffered to enter the village. The day following our PERSIAN convoy took their leave of us, not without sorrowful countenances ; demanding of their conductor why he hastened them : “ Do you not know,” said one of them, “ that to condemned persons every hour of life is of great moment ? ” I sent my interpreter to the SHAH’s minister appointed for the reception of strangers, to acquaint him of my arrival, and to enquire where I should pitch my tent. Though we were now so very near the SHAH, some of the foldiers in this village did not refrain from calling him a rascal<sup>a</sup> in plain terms. The 20th, we set out for the camp ; on the way we met a number of camels loaded with the SHAH’s tents, of which he has two sets, that one may be always pitched for his reception.

### C H A P. XXXVI.

*The author arrives at the PERSIAN camp, and is kindly received by MUSTAPHA KHAN, who, by order of NADIR, enquires into the state of EUROPE. He obtains a decree from the SHAH for payment of his loss at ASTRABAD.*

BEING now entered the camp, I pitched my tent near the royal standard, which was about a gun’s shot from the SHAH’s tent. HAMADAN<sup>b</sup>, which was about a league to the southward, is said to be the

<sup>a</sup> KURUMSACK. <sup>b</sup> To the south-east is the mountain ELVEND ; this city is said to be the ancient ECBATANE, which was destroyed by NEBUCHODONAZAR. ❀

burying-place of queen ESTHER and MORDECAI: it was now the grand repository of NADIR's cannon, bombs, and other artillery, which seldom appear in the camp, but when some siege, or extraordinary expedition is designed. I had the satisfaction to learn, that the rebellion in ASTRABAD was suppressed; and that the SHAH had declared, that the merchants should not be sufferers. I had no sooner pitched my tent, but an accident happened, which was very near depriving me of the means of ever telling my story: for the greater security, I had ordered our fire-arms to be set round the pole on the back part of my tent, which was partitioned off by a cotton-cloth; I was walking in a pensive manner, at which time it is natural for men to stand and pause, especially when they have so small a space as four or five yards to move: in this interval one of the pieces went off, carried two flugs through the top, and made a hole perpendicularly over my head. This accident was occasioned by one of my servants moving the piece obliquely, and touching the trigger, which in very few PERSIAN muskets has any guard: I had very narrowly escaped twice before on the road from an accident of this kind, owing to the carelessness of my servants; but now I was extremely alarmed lest the report of the musket, so near the royal tent, should give offence. My own tent, being of cotton, was set on fire, but we soon extinguished the flame; and this accident had no other consequence, nor was any enquiry made about it.

I waited immediately on MUSTAPHA KHAN, who received me with great expressions of kindness, and obliged me to dine with him: in the interim I delivered my petition to the chancery, with regard to the loss I had sustained at ASTRABAD. The KHAN assured me, that justice would be done: he then demanded what presents I had brought for the SHAH? This question startled me, as I imagined the character in which I appeared as a petitioner, would have rendered presents to the SHAH a gross impropriety. I excused myself by saying, that nothing worthy the acceptance of so great a prince could be found in GHILAN, when I departed from thence; and it was really true, that no fables, nor rich stuffs, were at that time obtainable, in case I had been inclined to carry the SHAH a present,

present, as I should have done if I had been rightly informed. My interpreter told me upon this occasion, that a short time before, one of the ministers declared, that it was not the SHAH's custom to accept of presents; but as Mr. ELTON was a subject of so worthy a nation, he received what was then offered to do him honour: the truth is, that this ancient custom of the east is rooted deep in their hearts, and converted into a species of corruption, from which their princes are not exempt. One of the company enquired of me, in relation to the PERSIANS in whose company I came from CASBIN; adding, that he knew not what account they had given of themselves to the SHAH; but he believed his majesty would pardon them to do me honour; making at the same time several lavish and hyperbolical compliments. It is incredible how far this sort of gallantry is carried in PERSIA, when it is meant to shew a distinguished regard to strangers who are under their protection. I told him, that I knew very little of those persons, and nothing at all of their crimes: whether the SHAH was at that time very much distressed in his affairs, or for some other reason, but the accounts of my fellow-travellers were actually accepted, and the wages of the merchant's son considerably advanced.

The king was in his tent of audience from seven in the morning till ten at night, retiring only for a short time; he had with him but 30,000 effective men, though with the servants of the soldiers, and attendants upon the camp, they were in the whole near thrice that number; a large body of forces was left towards ERIVAN; near 30,000 men were in SHIRVAN; 25,000 in SHIRAS, besides a body of forces in KHORASAN, and a formidable army on the banks of the INDUS. The numerous rebellions then on foot called on NADIR for the utmost attention, and he had taken measures for the suppression of them all at one and the same time.

This day a PERSIAN of some distinction made me a visit, and enquired what I had observed in PERSIA. I told him, I was amazed that so fine a country had so few inhabitants. "It is true," says he, our country is ruined; but it cannot be otherwise; for the SHAH has supported all his forces in one continued campaign of four years, by the taxes  
 "drawn

“ drawn from his people, who have now but little left to support themselves : and indeed none but him, or an almighty power, could have maintained so vast an army by such means. Now the affairs of the empire are settled, and the frontiers peopled with such families as he can depend on, we hope all will go well.” This last part of the discourse did not seem to flow from his heart so much as the former, nor was it much to be expected : it was a kind of proverbial saying among the PERSIANS ; “ what mighty things will be done so long as the king lives :” but it seemed to carry this sense with it also, that with him all the glory of PERSIA must expire. Indeed few of them appeared to be endowed with a sufficient understanding to argue upon probable events, or to look into the dark prospect of futurity.

The SHAH passing from his HARRAM to his tent of audience, gave me an opportunity of seeing him : he was very plainly dressed, except in precious stones \*. The same day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, governor of ASTRABAD, arrived from SHIRVAN, where he had a great share in the reduction of that formidable rebellion. I visited QUIRIM BEG, the adjutant-general, who had the care of the SHAH’S records, and he bid me hope that I should soon receive a favourable decree ; but was very reserved in his acceptance of a present of some fine cloth and rich silk, which I had prepared for him. I desired that he would procure me a copy of the several decrees in favour of foreign merchants in PERSIA, which he gave me.

I paid my respects a second time to MUSTAPHA KHAN, who in the ordinary complimentary strain, assured me he had spoken in my praise to the SHAH, who had ordered him to ask me, if I knew whether any of the CHRISTIAN powers had attacked the TURKS in EUROPE, or might probably engage in a war with them. I answered the KHAN to this effect : “ The RUSSIANS having been harraßed with wars for near forty years, now enjoy repose, and as far as I apprehend, will not engage in an offensive war with the TURK, or any other power. The hereditary enemy of the TURK in EUROPE, his majesty knows, is the queen of HUNGARY ; she has her hands full, being cruelly oppressed in every quarter by the

\* The reader will find an account of his person in the last volume of this work.

“ FRENCH king, and is consequently in no condition to attack the TURK :  
 “ but should the latter embrace this opportunity to break with her, it is  
 “ highly probable, that the RUSSIANS will appear in her defence. GREAT  
 “ BRITAIN has been engaged in a war with SPAIN already for some  
 “ time : and we expect to hear that she has broke with FRANCE also.  
 “ Thus the raging flames of war seem to threaten the greatest part of EU-  
 “ ROPE.” But all the nations, as well as princes of that quarter of the  
 “ world, have heard with wonder, the achievements of the SHAH your  
 “ master ; and consider the TURK as much inferior to him in strength and  
 “ fortune, as he is apparently superior to them in knowledge of the art of  
 “ war.” With this account the KHAN seemed to be satisfied, and I took my  
 leave of him. In the evening a person was dragged out of the royal tent, who  
 had been strangled for desertion ; the executioner finding life yet in him,  
 gave him a violent blow on the breast.

The 22d, The royal standard being taken down, as a signal for striking the tents, we decamped, and came about two leagues and a half north-east, where the SHAH's tents being already prepared, I pitched mine in company with the whole camp. Heavy showers falling upon a rich soil, made it extremely troublesome, and it was with difficulty that we could, by the help of oil-cloths and other conveniencies, keep ourselves dry in our tent, round which we were obliged to make a channel to carry off the water. All the cattle belonging to the camp, being exposed to the weather, were over their fet-locks in dirt : and here I observed, that the incessant fatigues of long marches, and the rigor and inclemency of the seasons, had ruined the PERSIAN cavalry, renowned for so many ages. There are however some good horses, which exceed in size, but few of them are of equal fire and beauty with the ARABIANS ; nor do they manage their mouths well ; most of them being spoilt with the harshness of their bits. These horses being never under cover, commonly carry their body-cloths on their backs, which are made of a coarse felt, very heavy, and so hot, that I imagine they enervate a horse very much. They dye the tails of those which are of a light-colour with red or orange : NADIR's horses were led promiscuously in the crowd of the army ; and these had suffered in common with the rest.

MUSTAPHA KHAN having been informed, that I was possessed of a bill from MAHOMMED HASSAN, chief of the rebellion at ASTRABAD, for the amount of my loss, demanded a sight of it. With this I the more readily complied, as it served me as a voucher of the value, as well as gratified the curiosity of the KHAN, and probably of the SHAH himself; for his decree, which was this day delivered to me, was made out according to that value. The contents of this decree were, “that I should give the particulars of the loss in writing to BEHBUD KHAN, the SHAH’s general in ASTRABAD, who had orders to deliver to me whatever part of the goods might possibly be found, and to restore them in kind, and the deficiency to be paid out of the sequestered estates of the rebels without delay, to the last DENAER.” This was not quite the thing which I wished for, because it laid me under a necessity of returning to that wretched place, ASTRABAD; however I could not but acknowledge the highest obligation for so signal a mark of justice and clemency.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

*Description of the PERSIAN camp and army. A circumstantial account of their tents, standards, arms, market-place. Of the SHAH’s women, and their manner of travelling. Of the use of elephants and camels. Different bodies of which the army is composed, and of the military exercises of the PERSIANS.*

BEING now easy in my mind on the subject of my loss at ASTRABAD, I rode entirely through the PERSIAN camp, attended by my interpreter, and another person, as far as the quarter of the elephants, and informed myself as minutely as possible, of every particular relating to the army.

In placing the camp a general regularity is observed, as far as is agreeable to the size and shape of the ground; it being a rule constantly pursued, to place the tents of certain principal ministers and officers in the front, or to the right or left of the SHAH’s quarters, that some of them

may be always near him. The circuit of the quarter allotted to the SHAH's own tents is very large : the entrance consists on one side of a line of uniform tents, serving for guard-rooms ; and the other, of the tents in which the affairs of the chancery, and the like public concerns, are transacted. About 200 yards beyond this avenue is the pavilion in which the SHAH usually sits, to give audience, and transact business : it is oblong, supported by three poles, adorned with gilded balls at the top ; the covering is of a cotton cloth of a brick colour, and the lining of clouded silk : the floor is covered either with carpets or cloths, and the body of the pavilion has on each side a kind of alley, through which the attendants may walk round ; sometimes the SHAH sits upon a large SOPHA, or chair, cross-legged <sup>a</sup>, and sometimes on the floor. The hind-part of this tent is divided into small apartments, where the officers who do not appear in his majesty's presence, attend : there is nothing sumptuous in this pavilion, the front of which is always open, even in the worst weather ; however when it is extremely cold, several pots of lighted charcoal are placed in the middle. At a considerable distance behind were placed the SHAH's private tents, to some of which he retired at his meals : and in order to render them warm, he had INDIAN pannels, which were occasionally set up, and formed the linings of two small apartments : to these were admitted only his secret emissaries, when they had any remarkable intelligence to communicate ; but in the last years of his life he had no familiarity with any of them.

Almost contiguous to these were the tents of the SHAH's ladies, which differed from the others in having several curtains that formed separate apartments one within another. The boundaries of the SHAH's quarter were occupied by his eunuchs and female slaves, and almost this whole circuit, especially towards the residence of the women, was surrounded by a strong fence of net-work, round which the night-guard patrolled, and severely punished all intruders. As there were no lights in these parts, nor any tents near them, it frequently happened that people, coming to the camp by night, ignorantly straggled thither, and were sure to be ill treated when this happened.

<sup>a</sup> The ordinary method is with their legs under them.

I observed, that none but the officers in immediate waiting were admitted into the royal pavilion ; for the officers of state, and people in business, stood in the open air in all weathers, forming a semicircle in front of the tent : if they were brought to answer for their conduct, they were held under the arm by proper officers, to prevent their escape, or committing any acts of violence. The same ceremony, with very little difference, was observed also towards foreign ambassadors, or great men ; the last indeed was under pretence of respect, but it also served to prevent any accident ; an attempt having been once made on the SHAH's life, as I shall relate in his history.

The PERSIANS use a certain glazing in their cotton tents, which, in some degree, prevents their being penetrated by water. The tents of persons of distinction are of various shapes, but most commonly oblong, and supported by three poles : the outside is always of coarse cotton cloth, and the inside is either lined with the same, or with woollen, or silk, according to the different seasons of the year, and circumstances of the owners : the ground is spread with a thick cotton cloth, or mat, and over that is laid a carpet, or woollen printed cloth<sup>a</sup> of several colours ; besides this covering, the square of the floor is laid round with felts, as already described, and these supply the place of bedsteads and featherbeds ; though some have their beds raised a little above the damp of the earth. The top and sides of the tents of great officers are sometimes lined with pannels, which are wrought with flowers, and variety of figures : large tents are often divided into two rooms, or apartments, by pannels or curtains ; the back part is appropriated for the use of the women ; but such grandees as have several women, place a set of tents for them at a distance from their own, which are surrounded with cotton cloths, to prevent their being seen : they have also, at a convenient nearness to their tents, a hole dug, enclosed by a cotton-screen of four folds, to answer the necessary purposes of nature.

That part of the camp called in TURKISH the ORDUBAZAR or camp-market, begins at the end of the square fronting the guard-rooms, and is

<sup>a</sup> Of BRITISH manufacture.

about half a mile long : it consists of tents on each side like a fleet, running as direct as the nature of the ground will admit : these tents are often supplied with a variety of provisions, apparel, horse-furniture, and other necessaries, which are brought hither for sale ; not to mention the continual change of property arising from the daily confiscations made by the SHAH. The care of this market is committed to an officer called ORDUBAZARI, who often rides up and down to keep order ; and when any disputes arise, they are brought before the DEROGA BAZAR, or superintendent of the market, who acquires a considerable income from rents, fees, presents, and extortions. Many of the shop-keepers were little better than common futlers ; but such as carry on great business, are under the protection of some of the principal courtiers, who are the grand dealers in flower and rice, of which there is always a great consumption : and as these courtiers have frequently many supernumerary servants, camels and mules, they send them to the distant provinces that produce rice, which they bring to the camp for sale, and make great profits. But if the shop-keepers, or other traders, interfere with them in these branches of trade, they generally mark them out for destruction.

NADIR often enquired into the price of necessaries, and reduced them as he thought proper, fining the market-people upon every transgression : but the most notorious instance of injustice to the shop-keepers, was his obliging them, when his tents and their appurtenances were grown old, to take them, and pay him the value of new ones.

The two imperial standards were placed on the right of the square already mentioned : one of them was in stripes of red, blue, and white, and the other of red, blue, white, and yellow, without any other ornament : though the old standards required 12 men to move them, the SHAH lengthened their staffs, and made them yet heavier ; he also put new colours of silk upon them, the one red and yellow striped, the other yellow edged with red : they were made of such an enormous size, to prevent their being carried off by the enemy, except by an entire defeat<sup>b</sup>. The regimental

<sup>b</sup> The loss of the battle of KERKOUND in 1733, seemed to be owing to the standard-bearer, riding off the field with the standard.

colours were a narrow slip of silk floped to a point, some were red, some white, and some striped: several hours before the moving of the camp, one of the standards was taken down by way of signal, and carried forwards to the place where the new camp was to be pitched. The SHAH's set of tents, and those of the great men went with it attended by a convoy. The bulk of the army often marched an hour or two before the SHAH; for in removing from one encampment to another, he sometimes galloped the whole way.

The SHAH had about 60 women, and very near the same number of eunuchs, who generally rode near his person, and kept pace with him: before him were his SHATIRS<sup>c</sup>, preceded by the CHIAUX<sup>d</sup>, and before them the KESHIKEHI<sup>e</sup>, being the foremost of his body guard, who were best acquainted with the track the SHAH was to take: these spread a mile or two before him and terminating in a kind of angle, gave notice of the SHAH's approach, by crying out in TURKISH, YERRIE, or make way: this is called the KOURUCK, which is always troublesome, and sometimes fatal to such as cannot get out of their way; for when they meet with people in the SHAH's rout, rivers, precipices, and rocks are no excuse; they drive at them with their maces, and make all before them fly at their approach.

When NADIR travelled with his women,<sup>5</sup> the army was kept at almost a mile distance; but when he went without them, people were permitted to come nearer. In the latter part of his reign he seldom did travel without them; probably the better to avoid any evil designs against his person. The SHAH's women, and indeed others of distinction, rode on white horses, in the manner as men ride; but when they did not go in his company, they were usually carried on camels, seated in machines resembling a covered waggon, and hung like panniers over a pack-saddle, which I have already mentioned. On these occasions they were entirely concealed under a covering of crimson cloth; and in this manner they rode one on each side, conducted with the usual pomp: the motion is very disagreeable, and apt to create a disorder, not unlike the sea-sickness. The

<sup>c</sup> Running footmen.<sup>d</sup> Chanters.<sup>e</sup> Watch-guard.

sick ladies, and female servants of the court, were always concealed in the same manner, under a covering of crimson cloth: other women, of no particular distinction, rode on horses, or mules; these mixed among the crowd, but had a linen veil over their faces, and wore great coats, resembling those of the men; but the poorer sort had a white veil, which covered their whole body. The women belonging to the OUSBEG TARTARS were not so scrupulous about hiding their faces as the PERSIANS. The number of women in the camp, except upon perilous enterprizes, in proportion to the men, is generally one to ten.

The SHAH when sick used to be carried in a horse-litter: other people of fashion were seated, or laid on mules upon a large flat pack-saddle, bolstered up: but the common way of carrying their sick men, is to fix two poles to meet in the middle over the neck of the horse, at the point of the saddle, the breast and shoulders resting between the interfices of the poles.

Upon extraordinary occasions the rear-guard was said to be very numerous, consisting of 8000 YESAUL: their business was not only to secure the rear of the army; but to prevent straggling or desertion; therefore they examined every one who quitted the camp; and if there was the least ground of suspicion, they would not suffer even a stranger to go about his business without a bribe. If the valets belonging to travellers happened to tire while the camp was removing; these fellows, instead of assisting them, frequently drove the owners away, and converted the cattle and baggage to their own use.

In marching, greatest part of the soldiery, as well as the YESAUL, kept in a collected, but irregular body: the followers of the camp covered several miles. The elephants and camels were employed only in carrying great burthens: the last are of several kinds, but the most serviceable is that called the MAJE, which have two bunches on their backs: they are generally fed with balls made of meal; and though very hardy, they frequently die of epidemical distempers.

NADIR's standing forces were never fixed to any determinate number ; though they were computed at 200,000 men. The following is as perfect a sketch as I could procure, of his principal attendants and soldiery ; for the support of which PERSIA has been ruined, and INDIA spoiled of 120 millions sterling, with more than as many thousand souls, viz.

60 Black eunuchs : there were few or no white ones in his service.

200 SHATIR, or running footmen.

1,000 RIKAH, or stirrup-holders.

10,000 KULAM, or slaves belonging to the king : their chief in the TURKISH language is called KULLER AGASI<sup>f</sup>, and the inferior KULAMS are those soldiers which the provinces equip by the SHAH's order : he paid them but they were a kind of servants to the KULAMS.

2000 BEGZADE'E, or gentlemen's sons.

1000 KITCHUDAZADE'E, or sons of elders : the last three were the gentlest of the soldiery ; many of them were employed in guarding the treasury at KÆLAT, and on other important occasions.

4000 KESHIKEHI, or watch-guard, otherwife called HEMISHI KISHIK, because they were always on duty : they wore white turbans ; some of them carried sabres, and others sabres and pikes ; their pay was 250 crowns per annum : this watch was continually called over in the night.

900 CHIAUX : they carried in their hand a baton with a double silver crook on the end of it ; they had also a feather with a silver boss on their cap, which was flat on the top : these frequently chanted moral sentences and encomiums on the SHAH, occasionally proclaiming also his victories as he passed along.

500 GIARKEHI, who wore in their caps the beard of an arrow in brass, and were employed as criers and heralds.

150 FERRASH, under two chiefs because of the different branches of their business ; one of them performed executions in the SHAH's presence ; and therefore a party of these attended at a small distance from his pavilion, where they were employed as the instruments of his vengeance : the o-

<sup>f</sup> Chief of the slaves.

ther superintended the pitching and dressing of the SHAH's tents, and had the care of the presents brought to his majesty.

8000 YESAUL, who wore a brats-knob on their caps: they were distinguished into two sorts, the YESAUL KUR and YESAUL SONBET. Their leaders were in great consideration on account of their near attendance on the king's person: they formerly acted as grand marshals, and judges of the household, and latterly as masters of the ceremonies.

250 NÆSSAKHCHI, these are known by a feather in their caps: they have large pay, and great power, punishing offenders in the neighbourhood of the camp, without bringing them before any higher officer or magistrate; these at the head of other scouts are also dispersed to guard the avenues; for it is not uncommon for robbers to rip open tents, and carry off baggage during the night, even in the camp.

100 GILODAR; those who are charged with the direction of the couriers, and their horses: all these different ranks are horsemen.

12,000 GIZAIRES, these are foot-soldiers; they are well clothed, and carry very heavy musquets with wide bores: they form a body, which has an imperfect resemblance of the EUROPEAN infantry, and were modelled by NADIR himself to be of great use, which PERSIAN foot-soldiers seldom were before his time.

40,000 KARA-KUSHUN<sup>s</sup>, are also foot-soldiers, whose pay is only 30 crowns per annum: the name is TURKISH and signifies black guard, and they make but an indifferent appearance, compared with the others already mentioned.

The following are called after the name of the nations or countries from whence they come.

50,000 AFGHANS; these have lands assigned them in KANDAHAR, besides 80 crowns per annum: they use the bow, lance, and sword, and are very brave. But this denomination also includes the ABDOLLEES.

20,000 AFSHARS<sup>h</sup>.

6000 OUSBEG-TARTARS, of KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and SAMARCAND.

<sup>s</sup> I have put these, and the 13 preceding denominations of soldiery in the singular number, as corresponding most with the PERSIAN pronunciation.

<sup>h</sup> NADIR himself was of their tribes: they live mostly in tents, and inhabit part of the province of KHORASAN and the country to the eastward of it.

6000 TURKUMAN<sup>1</sup> TARTARS of TURKUMANIA.

6000 BULUG, or BALOUCHE<sup>k</sup>, of the tribes in the southern coast of PERSIA.

The above computation falls short of 200,000 men; but they may be reckoned in this proportion.

The pay given to the soldiers by NADIR, was computed at 100 crowns per annum one with another, besides an allowance which chiefly consisted of rice; but the dearness of provisions, and the expensive manner of living in the camp, rendered this large pay absolutely necessary. They wear no uniform, but are obliged to buy all their cloathing of the SHAH at an extravagant price, and to keep YETIMS<sup>1</sup> at their own expence.

They amuse themselves by galloping before the army 8 or 10 at a time, discharging their pieces at each other with powder: it was a circumstance which surprized me, that they were permitted even in the camp to fire off their pieces, blow their trumpets, and beat their drums for their amusement; but this might arise from a political cause to prevent their cabaling: they are seldom exercised except in shooting with the bow, or with a single ball at a mark, at which they are very expert, and no less exact in loading their piece; for except it be in time of action, they weigh their powder, as well as fit the ball to the bore: but the barrels of these pieces, some of which are match-locks, are so ill tempered, that they will not bear a quick fire. The greatest part of their regular forces carry a musquet and sabre; but the OUSBEGS, and several others in the army, are not so well provided; some having a spear, or a battle-ax, others a bow and arrow, others a single pistol; but all of them wear sabres, in the use of which they, as well as the PERSIANS, are very dextrous. As to bayonets, by which the EUROPEAN forces have sometimes performed such feats, they have no notion of them.

<sup>1</sup> This name is common to another people near the borders of TURKEY, being transplanted in consequence of the conquest made by TAMERLANE; the original people of this name being the inhabitants of the eastern coast of the CASPIAN.

<sup>k</sup> Sometimes considered as a tribe of AFGHANS, whom they resemble in their countenance; but are not so well civilized in their manners, nor live so much in cities.

<sup>1</sup> YETIM signifies an orphan; but these are considered as servants, who when their masters die, or fall in battle, are ready to serve as soldiers.

NADIR, according to the custom of the PERSIAN kings, had the policy to oblige some, and to encourage all his army in the use of costly furniture: the officers, and even the soldiers of rank, have the bridles of their horses mounted with silver, with a mane-piece of plate, and an ornamental chain<sup>m</sup>; likewise their sword, belts, and leathern accoutrements are mounted with the same metal: the handles of their battle-axes are also for the most part studded or covered with thin silver plates, and in their sashes about their waist they wear a knife, the handle and case of which is also covered with silver; but the workmanship is indifferent. Certain officers, and persons of distinction, were obliged to wear gold-cased knives, and some of their great men, had silver-stirrups.

It has been observed, that soldiers generally fight best when they have something to lose, if their wealth does not involve them in effeminacy. ALEXANDER indeed encouraged his MACEDONIANS, by representing the PERSIAN riches as an object of plunder, and consequently as a motive to exert themselves; but under NADIR, we do not find that any of their enemies considered the valuable effects of the PERSIAN soldiery in that light. This method served also to keep them dependent, by their being obliged to expend their money in articles of vanity: thus the late king of PORTUGAL humbled his nobility by indulging their pride; and other CHRISTIAN princes have done the same by their subjects with great success.

### C H A P. XXXVIII.

*A brief account of the immense value of the horse-furniture belonging to NADIR SHAH. Conversation with MUSTAPHA KHAN upon that subject. A remarkable instance of NADIR's cruelty, and his manner of giving audience to EUROPEANS. Suppression of the rebellion in SHIRASS.*

HAVING now visited the camp at large, and informed myself of these particulars concerning it; I was desirous to see that part of the SHAH's riches, which consisted in horse-furniture. He had four

<sup>m</sup> See representation of NADIR's horse in the frontispiece of the fourth volume.

complete sets, one mounted with pearls, another with rubies, a third with emeralds, and the last with diamonds, most of which were of so prodigious a size as hardly to merit belief; for many of them appeared as big as a pigeon's egg<sup>a</sup>. I could not but regard them with wonder, not more for their immense value, than for the barbarous taste in which they were set; for some of them did not appear to have any art at all bestowed on them. I visited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and took occasion to mention my surprize at the prodigious value of the SHAH's horse-furniture, which so much exceeded any thing I had ever formed an idea of in that kind: I observed to him at the same time, that jewels in EUROPE appear incomparably brighter and neater set; and that if his majesty would trust me with one of those bridles, I would procure a complete horse-furniture to be made in EUROPE, which should exceed any thing that had yet appeared in the world: I said this because it naturally arose from the subject, and not that I expected NADIR under his circumstances would consent to part with his bridle for any such purpose; however at another visit I took occasion to hint the same thing, and the KHAN politely said, "My master has not patience enough to wait till it should be finished."

MUSTAPHA KHAN, as already observed from the testimony of HAHGEE ZAMON, was considered as the most upright man in the PERSIAN court, and the SHAH now allowed him 10,000 crowns a year. I thought myself happy in the regard which he shewed me during my stay in the camp; and gratitude as well as policy seemed to call on me to make him a present, which consisted of a gold repeating watch, some fine cloth, and rich silk<sup>b</sup>: he shewed some repugnance, till I insisted on his accepting so trifling a mark of my gratitude. In return he presented me with some jewels, part of the plunder of DEHLI, which had once adorned the cap of some unhappy INDIAN: the principal jewel consisted of a large saphir in gold, set round with diamonds; these last were not only small, but bored

<sup>a</sup> What became of those bridles I have not yet heard; for I make no doubt but they were plundered in common with the rest of the camp, when NADIR was killed about three years after this time.

<sup>b</sup> It may be necessary to observe, that only so much of the present was charged to the adventurers, as exceeded the value of the jewels which the KHAN gave me in return.

through in the manner the ASIATICS often spoil their precious stones: the reverse of this piece was enamelled with flowers. The KHAN had formerly been a prisoner in TURKEY, where he had acquired some knowledge of the interest of the OTTOMAN court; but he seemed to know nothing of any other. At the time of NADIR's death he had the good fortune to be on the road on an embassy to TURKEY, and by that means escaped the fate he might otherwise have met with as a favourite of his master.

The 24th in the evening a man was executed with circumstances that gave me strong impressions of the cruel disposition of NADIR, who, in the article of death, could jest with a malefactor. A person who had collected taxes, was complained of by the peasants, of whom it appeared he had made greater exactions than he had accounted for to the SHAH: this was capital, and he was accordingly condemned to death: NADIR, as if he had recollected something particular of this person, said to him: "I understand you can dance well; dance, and I will save your life." The man immediately began to dance, no doubt with some transports of joy; but the SHAH ordered the executioner to strike him upon the legs, which necessarily prevented his performance: this tyrant then cried: "the rascal does not dance well; kill him." After his execution he was brought out near my tent, whence his friends removed him in the night. This was not the only instance of NADIR's cruelty that fell under my observation while I was in the camp; for I saw several persons of distinction, who rode about with their feet wrapt in white cloths, having been beaten till their nails came off their toes, and the sinews made bare, which is no extraordinary thing to people of the first quality: and since I am upon this subject, I will give another example of NADIR's avarice and barbarity, which happened a little before I was in the camp.

The SHAH having appointed a certain general as governor of a province, imposed an exorbitant tax on it, to be levied in six months: at the expiration of the time the governor was sent for to the camp, and ordered to produce the account. He did so, but it amounted only to half the sum demanded. The SHAH called him a rascal; and telling him he had stolen

stolen the other half of the money, ordered the executioners to bastonade him to death : his estate also being confiscated, all his effects fell very short of the demands. The servants of the deceased were then ordered to come into the SHAH's presence, and he enquired of them if there was any thing left belonging to their master ; to which they answered, ONLY A DOG. He then commanded the dog to be brought before him ; and observed that he appeared to be much honefter than his master had been ; however that he should be led through the camp from tent to tent, and beaten with sticks, and wherever he expired, the master of such tent should pay the sum deficient. Accordingly the dog was carried to the tents of the ministers successively, who hearing the case, immediately gave sums of money according to their abilities, to procure the removal of the dog ; by which means the whole sum the SHAH demanded was raised in a few hours time.

Cruel as this tyrant was, some of his predecessors have not fallen much short of him : how will custom render the heart obdurate to the impressions of humanity, and the ear deaf to the calls of mercy ! It was an ancient punishment in PERSIA for an offender to be put between two boards, and sawn asunder. SHAH ABAS the GREAT is said to have cut off a man's nose, and the flesh from other parts of his body with his own hand, and afterwards obliged the sufferer to eat them.

To resume my own story : being uncertain which rout the army would take, and by no means convenient to stay any longer in the camp ; the 25th I visited MUSTAPHA KHAN, and begged, as he had honoured me with so many marks of his politeness and friendship, that he would now assist me with his advice, what rout I ought to take to ASTRABAD : for considering the situation of PERSIA, and the dangers I had already gone through, I thought I could not take too much care. The KHAN told me very ingenuously, " You must not go the direct road to ASTRABAD ;  
" for the passage through the mountains to the north-east of CASBIN is  
" inhabited by people who are in circumstances to do any desperate ac-  
" tion. I advise you to return back to GHILAN, and if you cannot go  
" from thence by water to ASTRABAD, you must take your chance by  
" land

“land through MAZANDERAN ; but carry a good guard with you. I will  
 “give you two faithful soldiers, who shall see you safe from hence to A-  
 “BAR ; there you may take other soldiers.” I had now with me a fresh  
 company, my RUSSIAN servant only having been with me at ASTRABAD ;  
 and of these some refused to go at all, and others were dissident what  
 rout we ought to take.

The next day arrived news, that the king's forces had recovered all  
 the country about SHIRASS, and were preparing to take the city by storm.  
 I had flattered myself, that the SHAH would have called me before him ;  
 but either from the distressed situation of his affairs, or his persuasion  
 of the truth of the account I gave in, I had no opportunity of being ques-  
 tioned, or of indulging my curiosity so fully as I desired. The manner  
 in which EUROPEANS were presented to him is this : they walked fast  
 into his presence, bowing three times ; and though the PERSIANS do not  
 uncover themselves, yet as he knew it is a mark of respect among EURO-  
 PEANS, he required it of them. NADIR took occasion more than once  
 to observe of the ENGLISH, “that they are bold, and appear like men of  
 business.” He was now expecting further news from SHIRASS, and by his  
 slow marches towards CASBIN, seemed as if he intended to go himself,  
 if his forces did not succeed in the southern part of the empire. It is  
 hardly credible with what untired attention he applied himself to bu-  
 siness.

COSSIM KHAN the chancellor being much in favour with the SHAH,  
 was employed in writing an account of his wars : I question if those writ-  
 ings have at present any existence ; but if they have, as NADIR had a  
 sight of them himself from time to time, they must be suspected of great  
 partiality. I have had occasion to observe, that the chancellor, as well as  
 MUSTAPHA KHAN supported his reputation ; and as the former had given  
 several marks of his attention to our commercial interest, I thought it  
 proper to make him a present, though he also shewed some repugnance  
 to the acceptance of it. I then took my leave of MUSTAPHA KHAN,

\* He had in past times frequent occasion to see the servants of the EAST-INDIA company.

and

and received his commissions for certain things which he wanted from EUROPE<sup>d</sup>. He delivered me into the charge of an under-officer and a soldier, to attend me as far as ABAR.

C H A P. XXXIX.

*The author's journey from the PERSIAN camp to LANGAROOD. Regulations of the postmasters in PERSIA: a remarkable story of one of them; with an account of the PERSIAN couriers.*

THE 27th of March we set out from the camp, the officer and soldier charged with the care of us were of the YESAUL, who, as I have observed, are distinguished by their caps; and whose office it is in time of action, to shoot those who turn their back on the enemy. These men had been in INDIA with the SHAH, and informed me of some particulars in relation to that memorable expedition. This day we travelled about 6 leagues to the village of SHUBOCHI. The different rout I now took, exhibited the same melancholy prospect of vast tracts of excellent arable land lying waste in one of the finest climates in the world; so that I could not comprehend how the SHAH supported his army: the houses supplied only fuel, and we saw several maroders pulling them down for that purpose. The next day we passed through a ruined village, covered on the opposite side with an inaccessible mountain: here we discovered five persons, who as we approached, ran to their horses, which were ready saddled, and tied to trees: they took to their arms as if they meant to attack us; on our part we prepared for a defence. Our two soldiers, who did not seem to have our preservation much at heart, loitered behind, and entered into a parley with them: this gave me some uneasiness, and induced me to stop upon an eminence attended by one servant, to see the issue of their conference; but my interpreter soon rode back full speed, and reproached me for staying behind, declaring that if we did not keep together upon our guard, we might be cut off; for that he had discovered four of those men were gone round the hill, whilst

<sup>d</sup> The subsequent state of our affairs never permitted the execution of this commission.

one kept the soldiers in parley. His fears were not without foundation, for the soldiers who soon came up with us, had taken a stolen horse in exchange from one of them, who acknowledged to him, that the reputation which the EUROPEANS have acquired for their dexterity in the use of fire-arms, had been our greatest security. At last we reached ASDOLEN, one of the least deserted villages I had seen in this journey; we had been eight hours on the road, but found ourselves advanced only five computed leagues.

The 29th, We ascended a mountain, the several turnings of the road making between three and four miles: the air on the top was so extremely rarified, and the winds so piercing, that it was with difficulty I drew my breath. In the valley we found a very different climate, and ABAK appeared before us in a delightful situation: this city however was much in the same circumstances as the others, and it was not without difficulty we obtained a lodging. The garrison here was commanded by a son of MAGHMUD the AFGHAN, who, as the PERSIANS say, set out with only 12,000 men, when he conquered so great a part of this empire. The mountains, over which lay our direct road, being covered with snow, we were under a necessity of going near three leagues about; and in the space of four leagues, the road was so formed, that we were obliged to pass a branch of the KIZILAZAN sixty-five times; one of my company having had the curiosity to count them: this river was about thirty feet wide, and two or three feet deep, full of rocks and round stones, and the stream rapid. After ten hours journey we arrived at a desolate caravanserai, where we found nothing but water; we had however provided ourselves at a village on the road, where the inhabitants entertained us with great hospitality: I observed a tree with a number of rags tied to the branches, these were so many charms which passengers coming from GHILAN, a province remarkable for agues, had left there in a fond expectation of leaving their disease also on the same spot.

The 31st, We travelled near ten hours without finding any provision on the road: as we approached the mountains which cover GHILAN, we found the reflection of the sun so strong, that it was with difficulty we defended

defended ourselves against the scorching heat. At length we descried ARSEVIL, a small village, the sight of which supported our drooping spirits, almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger ; but we had then mortification to find only one narrow pass to it, and that was fenced up with large fir-trees, and a great bank of earth : we suspected that the village was in state of rebellion, and to force ourselves into it, might be attended with some dangerous consequences : however necessity silenced our scruples, and we summoned all our strength, to remove the impediment, which cost us no small labour ; it seems the villagers, out of fear of the SHAH's couriers, had made use of this expedient.

Spring was already advanced to the fulness of its charms : the brightness of the sky, the falls of water from the rocks, the variety of verdure on the different trees on the mountains, the lawns and corn-fields, filled the imagination with the most pleasing ideas : we had now before us a noble and extensive prospect, stupendous mountains rising gradually on each other, some of them with their summits covered with snow, whilst others concealed their heads in clouds. In the valley appeared many ruined villages ; but the serpentine channel of the KIZILAZAN, with the variety of lawns and woods, formed a delightful scene. The course of this river, which is one of the most famous in PERSIA, is rapid, and the soil it passes over in many places, tinges its waters with a red colour \*. The return of spring naturally delights the mind ; and to me it afforded so much the more pleasure, as my past winter had been attended with many circumstances of distress. How happy, thought I, might PERSIA be, if a general depravity of manners did not involve her inhabitants in such an inextricable confusion ; but how much more happy are those countries, whose government is not despotic, and whose people are inspired with sentiments of virtue and true religion ; the only means of blunting the edge of those calamities to which human life is subject. The desolate country through which we had travelled for so many days, made GHILAN the more striking. ARZEVIL was bordered by olive-trees : the walks in their gardens were covered with vines, and their fruit-trees in

\* KIZIL signifying red, it is probable this river may be called KIZILAZAN from some such reason.

blossom: here were few marks of art, but nature, with a little industry, seemed to furnish all that was needful or pleasant.

Upon our entrance into the village, we were received with marks of hospitality; for the peasants knew we should pay for what our occasions required; but they were much alarmed on account of the king's couriers<sup>b</sup>, who without pity take, and without mercy ride the horses of the poor inhabitants. In fact we had not been in the village two hours before eight of them arrived, who contrary to the usual custom, were armed with musquets, though in general they wear only sabres: their business was to examine, and take the deposition of the villagers concerning thirty robbers, who had lately infested the country, and of whom we had seen a party of five, three days before.

These couriers wear a white sash girded from their shoulders to their waist many times round their bodies, by which means they are enabled to ride for many days without great fatigue: they take horses wherever they can find them, which frequently are not returned to the owners: they even dismount travellers, and often leave them to walk with their baggage. The injustice of this behaviour occasions their being sometimes repulsed and severely treated; though according to the laws, an intire submission is required, as they are employed for the king's business. Postmasters are supplied by the king's orders with 30, 40, or 50 horses, according to their appointments; but as the demand is frequently greater than they are able to supply, and the SHAH's allowance very small, they are often obliged to abscond, which is a great cause of the barbarity of the couriers. One of these postmasters being challenged upon this account by NADIR, answered in these terms: "That I have not supplied your couriers with horses, is most certain; because for every ten horses you provided, you sent me twenty couriers: a man had better die at once, than live to serve a rascal;" and immediately he stabbed himself<sup>c</sup>. The SHAH cried out "that is a brave fellow; save him:" but it was too late.

<sup>b</sup> Whom the PERSIANS call CHOPPARS.

<sup>c</sup> This is but the second instance that I have known of a PERSIAN's being guilty of suicide.

Whilst I was in this village I observed, not without indignation, boys of twenty, armed with a military authority, giving blows on the heads of those, whose grey beards spoke their age, and the reverence due to it. This sort of treatment was practised sometimes for very trifling offences, and frequently for no offence at all: nor could I restrain my own ARME-  
NIAN servants on many occasions from following this BRAVE example; till I assured them they should receive ten strokes for one they gave. Having refreshed ourselves, we departed in the evening, taking our rout over a high mountain, from whence we descended into a pleasant and fruitful valley, and crossing the KIZILAZAN, we took up our lodging two leagues distance from ARSEVIL.

The 1st of April, we passed through the narrow paths in the mountains which guard the province of GHILAN, in view of many pleasant valleys, and travelling 7 leagues, arrived at CUEDUN; here we lodged in a very mean caravanserai, which we left early the next morning, and arrived happily at RESHD.

## C H A P. XL.

*The author arrives at LANGAROOD, and finds naval preparations making for an expedition to BALKHAN. He is visited by a MULLAH, with whom he enters into a conversation. The MULLAH's notion of marriage, also of temperance, dress, &c. An account of the women, their marriages, domestic slavery, and subjection in PERSIA. Thoughts on jealousy, and marriages in EUROPE compared with those of ASIA.*

AFTER the pleasure of seeing Mr. BROWN, and my other friends in RESHD, the 4th of April I departed from thence, and arrived early the next morning at LANGAROOD, where I was for the third time, kindly received by Mr. ELTON, and two of the FRENCH missionaries, who were then with him. They informed me, that all the ships and vessels on the PERSIAN coast of the CASPIAN, had been taken into the SHAH's service, in order to carry provisions to BALKHAN; the king pur-  
suing

fining his intention of erecting a fortification in that place, with a view to keep the TURKUMAN TARTARS in awe; and by driving them from that advantageous retreat, in some measure prevent their incursions<sup>a</sup>. This affair was so warmly prosecuted, that the ships already laden at ENZELLE by the RUSSIAN and ARMENIAN merchants for ASTRACHAN, were threatened to have their cargoes taken out. These naval preparations were conducted by the admiral MAHOMMED KHAN, whose ignorance of maritime affairs I have already mentioned: he was so little a master of his business, that he did not know the necessity of navigating ships at some distance from the shore; nor that boats, on the other hand, must coast it. Finding me returned successfully from the camp, he appeared jealous of my resentment of his former conduct; and apprehensive that the value of the pistols I had presented him was greater than it really was<sup>b</sup>; being ignorant also how to use the screw-barrils, he offered to return them; to which I had no objection.

Policy did not require the semblance of resentment on my part; and charity seldom warrants the reality of it. A mind superior to the injuries we suffer by the weakness or wickedness of others, seems to be the surest mark of that generosity of spirit which christianity requires, and bids fairest to secure that tranquility which constitutes in great measure our temporal happiness. If we reflect that men generally act like themselves, and are no better than their heads and their hearts permit them to be; at the same time that this consideration teaches us whom to trust in the affairs of the world, it should instruct us also how to stifle our resentments; and to think it our greatest glory to triumph over the pride, that is, the weakness of human nature. This is most certainly the lesson which the great law-giver of the CHRISTIAN world both taught and practised.

MAHOMMED KHAN was ordered to march towards ASTRABAD with the forces under his command. I visited him to enquire of what was passing in ASTRABAD; and understood that things were yet in the utmost disorder. He and his family were under great affliction, news being come that MIR HASSAN BEG, a general, and one of his near relations, was run

<sup>a</sup> See Chap. XX.

<sup>b</sup> He had heard that those sent to ALI KOULI KHAN were worth 1000 crowns.  
from

from the SHAH's camp to the rebels at SHIRASS: nor were his thoughts less perplexed on account of the difficulties he apprehended in the expedition to TURKUMANIA. He pretended to have received orders in relation to the decree which the SHAH had granted, for the payment of my loss at ASTRABAD, and demanded an account of the particulars of it, which I gave him.

I was visited here by a MULLAH, who came in company with SHAH-VERDIE BEG, the person to whom I was so much obliged: they entertained us with several quotations out of their poets, particularly with regard to the pleasures and miseries of life, arising from the society of women; and expressed themselves upon this subject with great delicacy. SHAHVERDIE BEG was an admirer of BACCHUS, as well as of VENUS. After other remarks the MULLAH observed to me, that though their law permitted a plurality of wives, and did not restrain men in their number of concubines; yet they always considered him as the most virtuous man, who confined himself to one wife, without any concubine: he intimated his opinion at the same time, that celibacy seemed to be a war against nature, and was consequently a vice.

The tendency of the MULLAH's doctrine was plainly upon the CHRISTIAN scheme, of ONE to ONE; and that the state of marriage is the state of nature; considering man as an animal, a rational, a social, or an accountable being. The practice of the MAHOMMEDANS however seems to oppose all these principles, except the first: no man can have a natural right to a plurality of women, because of his superior wealth and fortune; for if he has many, the poor man cannot have one, unless we suppose the lives of men to be considerably shorter than those of women, which is not the case; neither are there more women born than men. It has been a subject often disputed, if polygamy tends to the encrease of mankind: it is true in countries where it is allowed, hardly a single woman is to be found after the age of 16 or 18; whereas this is not the case in CHRISTENDOM: yet if marriage among the CHRISTIANS was so universal as among the MAHOMMEDANS, it may be presumed they would have the advantage, if they have it not as the case now stands; because a  
defect

defect in nature in one man, could render only one woman infertile; whereas among the polygamists it renders many so. There are other reasons in favour of the CHRISTIANS, arising from the freedom so natural to mankind even from their infancy, which MAHOMMEDAN women and children do not enjoy : add to this, the plagues, wars, cruelties, and famines which happen among the latter, more than in CHRISTENDOM : but it is a matter of no great moment which has the advantage, if it is presumed that it will not make any difference in the religion or politics of either.

Only four wives for life are esteemed honourable in PERSIA ; and though men of fortune have generally more women, the rest are held as concubines. The notion of their marrying their sisters has been long exploded. Before marriage the woman is examined in regard to her person by the mother, or other relation of the man ; as the man is by the parents or friends of the woman. A report being made, the woman's parents demand the price, which being paid, the judge<sup>c</sup>, or, where there is none, the priest<sup>d</sup>, having received notice that the parties are ready, marries them, oftentimes without their having ever seen each other. The PERSIANS may marry for a month, or any time agreed upon between the parties, in the presence of the priest, and separate when the time is expired ; but the woman must not marry again immediately, unless she is certain of not being with child. If she is pregnant, the man is obliged to support her for a year ; and if the child is a male, it is his ; if a female, hers. But marriage does not give them any liberty ; for the women, to all appearance, are considered as little more than servile creatures formed for the pleasure and indulgence of their lord.

Happy were it for the CHRISTIAN world if women were more generally taught from the earliest time of life, that rebellion against husbands in EUROPE is at least as great a crime as ASIATIC tyranny over wives ; and the thoughts of the latter must necessarily make them shudder. The medium may be found in some countries<sup>e</sup> ; but the extreme is apt to prevail. Women are not often taught the doctrine of subordination otherwife than by

<sup>c</sup> KAZEI.<sup>d</sup> MULLAH.<sup>e</sup> Perhaps as much in ENGLAND as any where.

custom ; which they sometimes call, and much oftener think an arbitrary invasion of their rights : the understanding and the heart ought to subscribe to this doctrine, in order to establish this rule of conduct upon a solid basis. Thus women might more generally comprehend, that subordination is necessary to the very being of government ; that the pre-eminence which men enjoy, consists chiefly in a superior toil ; that whether a man has the mind of an angel, or a brute, still the gentle passions, and a submissive conduct of a wife, must establish her power in the heart of her husband more permanently than all the arts of pride and rebellion ; thus it must be if she means to possess his affections : and if she does not mean it, he has the greater reason to maintain that superiority with which nature has invested him. And as providence has appointed man the guardian and protector of woman, he ought therefore to be the chief object of her love ; not in an abstracted speculation, but in a manner suitable to the great ends of providence.

To enter deep into this argument, is not my purpose ; I only mean to recommend an observance of the wise dispositions of providence, and to shew how reciprocal the happiness of mankind, as social beings, must necessarily be, as well from the make of the human mind, as from the necessities to which our condition is subjected. But there is one particular which I think ought never to be forgotten : the sensible part of mankind are ever lamenting the great want of friendship in the world : they form high ideas of the charms of it : they pursue it with anxious desires : but how few have virtue enough to enjoy it ; and of those few, how small is the number of such as are so fortunate to find their equals ; inasmuch that it has been emphatically said, “ there are as many kings as friends.” It is a common observation, that men excel women in friendship, as women do men in love : it is certain the first depends most on the understanding, the last on the affections ; but it would not be any subject of wonder, considering the modern polite education of EUROPEAN WOMEN, if they were deficient in both : to the former at least great discernment, as well as goodness of heart are essentially necessary : however as this amounts to no more than opinion, I may declare mine ; that if there are not many friendships

in the wedded state, there are yet fewer in any other ; consequently those who are adventurers for a friend, ought to run the risque of marriage, if they can so temper their passions with judgment, as to discern the difference between love and friendship, and make a happy mixture of both.

Mankind are in many respects the same in all countries ; but the MAHOMMEDANS certainly deviate from the laws of GOD and nature, by an arbitrary invasion of the RIGHTS of one half of the species. Tell a MAHOMMEDAN, that EUROPEAN women are permitted to walk abroad with their faces uncovered, to see, and to speak to men : he cries with astonishment ! “ How is it possible that the CHRISTIANS can suffer such an abuse ? ” By this we see he has no notion of a PRINCIPLE arising from education and religion. Talk to him of making wives the guardians of their own honour, with some prudent restrictions, as women may be differently circumstanced : he says, “ Alas ! women are the same in all countries ; if this “ conduct was permitted among us, instead of a plurality of wives, what “ security could we have in the property of one ? I thank my stars that I “ was born a MAHOMMEDAN.” In the light which they see things, this is very easy to imagine ; but they forget, that their women would have a juster reason to bless their STARS, had they been born CHRISTIANS, at least in countries where they enjoy one common liberty with the men.

Women in ASIA may sometimes live in harmony in the HARRAM : their lord may have a security in the possession of their persons : kind treatment may even engage their hearts, but not upon solid principles. We often see custom and habit prevail over nature ; but can a woman who loves a man, bear a competition for his distinguished regard, without suffering the corroding pains of jealousy ?

The joys of an EUROPEAN husband, who understands his religion as a CHRISTIAN, and his obligations as a social being, are certainly founded in reason and nature : but to abate the triumphs of their boasted superiority over the MAHOMMEDANS, let us consider the number whose lives are rendered unpleasant ; how few are compleatly happy, and how many miserable by the methods established in EUROPE in the marriage-state. These evils

evils seem to arise chiefly from one capital error, which men are apt to fall into. Our passions are as essential a part of our nature as our reason; and women, with some difference of objects, are equally subject to them with men. Where an ABSURD EDUCATION does not make their vanity preponderate, love will ever prove the ruling passion in a woman's breast; it will tincture all her thoughts, and give a bias to every part of her conduct; nor is this her crime, but her virtue and felicity, the order of providence, and the wise destination of nature. The great secret of life then, is to find a proper object for that passion: the husband must be himself the lover, if he means to be beloved: by the consistency of his own conduct he must inspire his wife with true notions of happiness, that is, with sentiments of true virtue and religion; and thus he may preserve inviolate in the highest sense the exclusive property to which he is intitled.

But there is a great difference between a manly rational love, and a passionate fondness. The esteem which women of sentiments usually have for men, rises or falls in proportion to the opinion they have of their wisdom; but the effeminate servilities of a doating fondness bid fair to bring on that satiety or contempt which he is most solicitous to prevent. However strong the passion of sovereignty may be in the breast of some women, the man who renounces his superiority, will for that reason, become an object of her contempt. A masculine tenderness, and politeness of manners, are the best means of tying the bands of wedlock, and making them graceful, honourable, and productive of solid happiness; towards women of distinguished beauty, because they are most in danger, and always think themselves most entitled to regard: to her who is not beautiful, because this distinction, if she has any ingeniousness of nature, will inspire her heart with a reciprocal love; and as it must flatter her opinion of her own merit, will give a proof of the taste and understanding of her husband. Thus in either case, he will receive the strongest security of her fidelity, and the best earnest of a mutual felicity. Marriage, upon the CHRISTIAN scheme, is undoubtedly well calculated for the happiness of mankind: all conditions have their peculiar calamities; but I am persuaded that most of the miseries which are imputed to that state, are really

ally owing to the abuse of it; for we ought to remember, that the man or woman, who is a fool before marriage, will not be changed by a miracle; but if there is good sense on either side, this may be a natural means of their becoming wife.

There is an UTOPIAN scheme which promises well; but perhaps it is calculated only for UTOPIA: it is indeed too good for the present age: I do not mean that of buying wives, as they do in PERSIA, but to take them without dowry: the inheritance of the female, when the first marriages should revert to the male heir of a family. This scheme is not the worse because it will startle a rich maid bred up in the splendor of a court: human nature would be the same; MEN WOULD MARRY: the desire of happiness would be the same, AND MEN WOULD MARRY THE SOONER, because they might rationally promise themselves MORE happiness than experience can now ordinarily justify. In proportion to THEIR felicity would THAT of their wives necessarily be: MORE men would marry, because they would follow reason and nature more, without being perplexed with the desires of gratifications, founded in avarice or vanity: and as "no marriage would be made without love, fewer loves would follow without marriage." Virtue, and consequently happiness amongst women, would be cultivated; because they would have only their beauty and accomplishments to inspire the breast of men. This scheme would also enforce filial piety and duty to parents: children would draw this blessing on their heads; for it would create a stronger connexion by the dependance which they would have on their parents, who in cases of unfortunate marriages, might the better be relieved; whereas parents, by the large dowries now given, are generally incapable of giving more; and their affections often become cold, by their not being shewn that respect from married children, which they would naturally receive under the stronger influence of interest.

This design might indeed be the worse for the rich, who have neither beauty, virtue, sense, or any accomplishment, except their gilding; but the number of these, which I hope is not large at present, would, then be very small. As to the variety of opinions among men concerning female

male charms, they would be more free and genuine, because unbiaſſed by any conſideration foreign to nature : and if one woman was by this ſcheme excluded from marriage, ten would find huſbands, who now languish through life in a wretched celibacy ; women in general are therefore intereſted to conſent to this propoſal. The riches of the world would be neither more nor leſs than they are now : the RIGHTS of a wife in a free country would not be abridged, except the RIGHTS of independency in point of fortune ; and what would they loſe by this, when it is well known, that from hence ariſes the notion of a ſeparate intereſt, which may be purſued WHEN AND HOW they pleaſe ; and the frequent conſequence of this opinion is nothing leſs than MISERY to both huſband and wife, as ſome thouſands I believe are ready to atteſt.

Whatever may be the conſequence of too much liberty in EUROPE ; in ASIA, at leaſt in that part of it which is the ſubject of theſe remarks ; the women are the abject ſlaves of men's appetites, being but little removed from prostitutes : and with regard to the men, their pleaſures cannot go much deeper than their ſenſes. It is not diſcoverable from the manner in which they treat the ſubject, and as little from the nature of their correſpondence with women, that there are many traces of friendſhip mixed with love ; conſequently few partnerships in the cares or calamities of life ; and as to the pleaſures and amuſements of it, they are neceſſarily confined within very narrow bounds. But for the greater ſecurity of their property in their wives, the only one which NADIR ſeemed to have any regard to, on his coming to the crown he publiſhed an ordinance, which made it preſent death for any perſon whomſoever, who ſhould attempt to corrupt another man's wife, or forcibly take a married woman from her huſband ; for which reaſon thoſe who have beautiful daughters give them in marriage very young, that they may not be expoſed to any violence. In the reign of HUSSEIN, men of great diſtinction were wont to ſeize upon what women they pleaſed, whether married or ſingle ; but as NADIR himſelf was a ſtrict obſerver of the law juſt mentioned, very few perſons had the boldneſs to violate it in his time.

The women of GHILAN are very industrious; the common sort are often seen abroad without veils, planting rice, and performing other offices of agriculture: and within doors they are employed in spinning and working in different manufactures: but women of superior quality work very little, if at all. QUINTUS CURTIUS mentions ALEXANDER's sending to DARIUS's mother several pieces of purple, and other rich vestures, which he had received from MACEDON; that if the manufacture pleased her, she might cause her grandchildren to be taught how to make them for their diversion. This, as the historian represents, was resented as a great indignity, it being esteemed mean and dishonourable for ladies in PERSIA to work in wool. ALEXANDER excused himself as being ignorant of their customs, alledging that his sister had worked the robe in which he was arrayed. The PERSIAN ladies are still of that opinion; nor is this surprising, if we consider that in EUROPE, where industry is reckoned a principal virtue, there are many women, whose birth, fortune, and beauty, might challenge the highest attention, who chuse to be ignorant of the essential duties of life, rather than of the vain ceremonies and amusements of it.

The women in GHILAN are fair, their eyes and hair black; but here, as in other places, they often use a drug with which they blacken their eyes: they appear at least to have received a tincture from it, but it leaves a blackness on the eye-lids: they esteem large eyes, inasmuch that as a figure to express the highest idea of the beauty of a woman, the females of paradise are represented with prodigious large eyes. In this province their features are small; those, as well as their stature, partaking much of the DELICATE. But in general the GEORGIANS are most esteemed for the charms of their persons. Their children are bred up in the HARRAM, and like the PORTUGUESE and JEWS, are very handsome when young; but the males soon change their countenance. The females who do not labour in the field, are seldom seen abroad except in a morning before the sun rises, and then they are covered with veils, which reach down to their feet. When they travel on horseback, every lady of distinction is not only veiled, but has generally a servant, who runs or rides before

fore her to clear the way ; and on such occasions the men, even in the market-places, always turn their backs till the women are past, it being thought the highest ill manners to look at them ; but this awful respect is but a proof of the slavery in which they are doomed to live. The care which they take to conceal their faces, to avoid the imputation of acting indelicately, and contrary to custom, has made so strong an impression on them, that I was told of a woman, who being accidentally surprized in bathing, shewed her whole person except her face ; to hide which, all her solicitude was employed.

The notion which the PERSIANS have imbibed concerning the female world, prevents their being involved in the distresses of love, such as losing their senses for the sake of a woman, though they are betrayed into many improprieties of conduct on this account. Jealousy which generally prevails in the warmest climates, is not unknown to the heart of a PERSIAN ; the nearer approach to the sun, may affect MAHOMMEDANS as well as CHRISTIANS ; but as in the politer countries of CHRISTENDOM, women are generally considered, in most respects, upon an equality with men ; and in PERSIA, as much inferior to them ; there must consequently be among CHRISTIANS a greater regard to conjugal love. The difference in religions, as well as in the customs and manners of countries, will hardly admit a comparison ; but as jealousy sometimes occasions the infidelity of women in EUROPE, it is always a safeguard to them in ASIA, where they are never constituted the guardians of their own honour.

We find custom has a great influence on the manners of mankind in all countries. In FRANCE there is a more liberal indulgence of women than in ENGLAND ; and yet, contrary to this rule, I believe it is beyond dispute that ENGLISH wives greatly exceed the FRENCH in chastity ; nor in saying this do I so much depreciate the women of that nation, as ascribe the natural effect to the cause ; for the superior excellence of our religion makes a stronger hold ; whilst the custom of FRANCE, and genius of the people with regard to their gaiety, is a temptation ; for though chastity, and great vivacity of spirit, are things very consistent ; yet the latter is, in its nature, apt to deceive the guards who watch the avenues to the heart, and

and to flatter them into a persuasion, that there is no danger near; whereas a more serious turn of mind creates an awe, and keeps the enemy at a distance. On the other hand, in PORTUGAL, and other countries in the south of EUROPE, where jealousy abounds most, and where the least confidence is reposed in women, there is most incontinence: so that it is hard to say, whether jealousy has tended most to this immorality; or this immorality established jealousy, as a kind of national vice. This passion, which seems to have its foundation partly in constitution, must arise also from indiscreet engagements, from whence proceed those sad apprehensions of being unamiable to the object beloved: but it is natural to conclude, in most cases, that the more vicious men are, the more they suspect others; and consequently are themselves the more subject to alarms.

Now that I am fallen upon so delicate a subject, I cannot help remarking, that although men of sentiments are very cautious of acknowledging, that this passion has in the least tinctured their minds, nor is it in the nature of things, that they can be ingenuous in confessions of this sort; yet I believe there are very few men without a degree of it. The aged, the proud, the timorous, and the tender, are perhaps the most susceptible of this passion, where there are any circumstances in the object beloved, to awaken it; but ashamed as men usually are in this instance, the question is, if jealousy is not a natural passion of the mind, as a compound of pride, love, hope, and fear; and if it may by a skilful direction answer several of the great ends of providence, as well as the other passions from whence I suppose jealousy to be derived? What the fatal effects of the excess of every passion are, the history of the world can furnish us with instances innumerable. Pride, love, fear, kill a thousand different ways, entirely unobserved by the generality of men, whilst one desperate act of jealousy is entered upon record, and transmitted to future generations.

If we consider jealousy as a passion distinct from all others, and that it MAY be employed to good purposes; the poison of it will in a great measure evaporate; for every passion was certainly given us for wise ends. I believe there are not many men, and perhaps fewer women, who having  
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endeavoured to pass through life with innocence, are not without singular obligations to this passion; I mean, with regard to THEMSELVES, as that which has constantly waited on them like a guardian angel, to protect them in their fidelity to their own principles; for if jealousy is a natural passion, its influence necessarily extends to OURSELVES, though in common life we do not often make OURSELVES the objects of it<sup>e</sup>. This principle being granted, how often might it have guarded the honour of families, and prevented that distress in which we have seen them involved. There is a vulgar notion prevails amongst women, such at least who are not very wise, as well as those who are not very virtuous, that suspicion is a great provocation to infidelity: whereas jealousy, though it implies a diffidence, may be only such as is founded in a general knowledge of human nature; or a great infirmity of mind; and though it is often a proof of pride, it can hardly exist without love; but a woman might, with the same propriety, beat out her husband's brains, because his head aches, as be unfaithful to him, because he is jealous; for it can by no means alter the nature of her obligations. On the other hand, it is a duty in men to remember, that this passion, if indulged, is an indignity to a woman, and does sometimes bring on the very evil it is employed to prevent.

In countries where women are considered as equally entitled to the privileges of human nature, and are not only exempt from the servile subjections of the EAST, but enjoy the honour of being free, as well as the liberty of being virtuous, they can hardly be devoid of sentiment: and it must necessarily follow, that in proportion as a woman loves a man, she will avoid what is injurious to his peace: whilst HE, conscious of this sickness of mind, will be equally watchful that it shall not offend her: and thus, by a skilful management, their very frailties may be converted into a blessing, and exhibit a thousand latent virtues, which, for want of trial, might never have been called forth.

I have considered jealousy in a different light from that in which it is generally shewn; but mankind are agreed, that all the sweets of love

<sup>e</sup> This is using the term jealousy for suspicion and diffidence; but it must be remembered that this term is warrentable, as when a man is JEALOUS of his honour; which, though a figurative expression, is very apposite to this opinion.

are no counterpoise for the bitter pangs of this corroding passion : and that men are as highly interested not to instruct themselves in the art of self-torment, as not to teach their wives an evil lesson. It may be also remarked, that jealousy, abstracted from all regards to women ; as in acquaintance, friendship, and the intercourse of the world at large, shews itself most in the weakest men ; though all men of TENDER MINDS are extremely susceptible of it. Pride is generally its companion, and fear its guide ; sorrow and vexation of spirit support its banners, and it leads us into the paths of misery. This is the case when we suffer it to get the ascendancy ; but when subservient to the ends of life, it is, I think, productive of the good I have painted out.

To return to my conversation with the MULLAH, from whence these reflexions took their rise, he afforded me yet further occasion for moralizing. He observed that I did not eat nor drink any thing that was offered me, and being himself a VALETUDINARIAN, he asked the reason of my abstinence : I told him, " It is a common saying in EUROPE, that a man " is a fool, or his own physician by the age of forty ; I want many years " of that period ; yet my constitution has given me great experience how " tottering these fabrics of our bodies are." Here it may be observed, that an impatience of certain foods, and other gratifications, is sometimes as prevalent in men of infirm constitutions, as in others. Mr. POPE, by what he says of himself, has set this matter in a clear light ; and happy are those who can truly apply it to themselves : " My youth " says this author, as well as I remember, " has dealt fairly and honestly by me ; and, " by early intimations of mortality, checked my career, and prevented " many injurious, and perhaps criminal excesses into which my passions " might have betrayed me." The MULLAH expressed his approbation of the proverbial saying I have quoted, arraigned mankind, and condemned himself in particular, for want of that common attention to health, without which, he observed, it is next to impossible for some men to pass through life exempt from pain ; and besides the misery and perturbations of mind which it creates, it also disqualifies us for the affairs of the world.

We now changed our subject ; and he said with an ingenuous freedom :  
 “ How comes it that you, who are abstemious in your food, are not of a-  
 “ piece in your apparel ; there ought to be an uniformity in a man’s con-  
 “ duct.” I thanked him for his admonition, and replied : “ In things I do  
 “ not find injurious in their consequences, it seems to me a kind of duty  
 “ to conform to the custom of those with whom we associate. You may  
 “ impute as much as you please to vanity ; but I must confess to you my  
 “ philosophy does admit of some indulgence of this kind : different occa-  
 “ sions, and the different kinds of people with whom we associate, must,  
 “ in some measure, determine in what manner a man ought to dress. Se-  
 “ veral eminent philosophers in EUROPE have recommended the garb to  
 “ be rather above, than below a man’s fortune, in which I presume they  
 “ allude to certain ranks in life : a good coat will often procure a man  
 “ admittance, where a bad one will expose him to contempt. This is  
 “ no where more true than in your country, of which I have already had  
 “ a painful experience : and since the world in general is governed chiefly  
 “ by outward appearances ; and that innocence of life, or even strength  
 “ of reason alone, will not purchase much esteem ; we may, I think, ac-  
 “ commodate ourselves to the world in things which are indifferent in  
 “ their nature, whatever may be urged by those philosophers and divines,  
 “ who are apt to consider how things ought to be, rather than how they  
 “ are.” The MULLAH shook his head, and acknowledged the application  
 “ of the argument with regard to PERSIA.

I had indeed been taught on several occasions, how necessary externals  
 were in that country, as well to prevent being treated insolently, as to pur-  
 chase that respect, which is of great use to the good conduct of business in  
 that country. In trading nations, where the supposed pecuniary worth of  
 men constitutes the greatest part of the respect paid them, cloaths are less  
 essential : but as these externals among others, are material distinctions of  
 an affluent fortune ; even in such nations, some respect will be ever paid  
 to a man’s coat ; particularly among the young, the gay, or the female  
 world, which constitute a very great part of mankind ; and that part which  
 he is no philosopher who despises.

With regard to motives of policy and custom, this notion had carried our factors in the south of PERSIA much farther than us who came from the cold regions of RUSSIA: they had their gold CAALLEANS, rich SHASHES, running footmen, led horses, &c. Their dress was PERSIAN, except the hat and wig, and their garments for parade were lined with SABLES. SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN gave them a noble palace and fine gardens; and once, at a public entertainment made for this prince, the factors spread the ground with scarlet-cloth for him to walk on from the royal palace to their own, and afterwards gave the cloth to the soldiers. This conduct was in some instances political amongst so ostentatious a people as the PERSIANS, and no doubt had its good effects; and the trade, whilst it was in a flourishing condition, might possibly support a considerable expence: but the invasion of the AFGHANS no longer permitted the continuance of it, and other prudential reasons now restrain these factors in a very great measure. Mr. ELTON however thought it becoming the rank he bore in his master's service, to have four running footmen to attend him; his adjutant was gallantly mounted, and carried a light fowling-piece at the head of the cavalcade: the rear was brought up by the CAALLEAN bearer on horseback, who carried a YAKTAN<sup>b</sup> with provisions, outward garments, and the like: but I cannot say, this shadow of a precarious pomp was any addition to my pleasure, because I knew his appointments of 2500 crowns<sup>c</sup> a year were not equal to it.

The conversation of the MULLAH gave occasion to many other reflexions; but those already mentioned exceed the bounds I have prescribed to myself in this work.

<sup>b</sup> Leather pannier.

<sup>c</sup> This was the salary allowed by NADIR SHAH, to which he added an occasional present or two of 500 crowns, and VERY LARGE promises, which probably would not have produced any thing.

## C H A P. XLI.

*The author detained in expectation of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE.  
Description of the province of GHILAN.*

THE month of April being now almost expired, I grew still more impatient to see captain WOODROOFE, intending to go to ASTRABAD by sea. Mr. ELTON endeavoured to render my hours as pleasant as so wretched a place as LANGAROOD could make them, and obliged me often with the use of the fine horse which the SHAH had given him.

I now sent a second courier to NASEER AGA, to inform him in what situation I was, and that I determined to go by land, if the ship did not arrive in two or three days. Providence seemed to order things apparently for the best: the heavy oppressions which had induced the people of ASTRABAD to rebel, and the dreadful consequences of that rebellion, could not but draw commiseration. But my sentiments of their sufferings afforded me no assurance of their regard to justice, much less of their forbearance to injure me in the prosecution of my business, if they had an opportunity of doing it. During my stay in GHILAN many of the rebels were removed by death, whom my presence could not have saved, and their adherents being the more humbled, were probably the less disposed to acts of violence. The several journies which I made in GHILAN afforded me an opportunity of making some remarks on that province: and my leisure allowed me time to commit them to writing.

GHILAN is covered on one side by a mountain, nearly in form of a crescent; and what adds much to its beauty is the abundance of timber, and other wood, and the several romantic scenes which the various face of the earth affords. At the foot of the mountain to the eastward, near the bay is a hot bath, the water of which is of a yellowish colour, and much esteemed for its medicinal qualities. The several passes into GHILAN are all very difficult; the narrow pass which leads to it from the east through ASTRABAD and MAZANDERAN, and from the west by LENGGER-KUNAN, are not much inferior to that of PILE-RUBAR already mentioned.

tioned. From hence it arose, that the kings of PERSIA have ever found it very difficult to keep the inhabitants of the southern coast of the CASPIAN in subjection, and still more, to reduce them when they have once rebelled: NADIR seemed to make it a maxim, never to keep any troops on this coast.

RESHD, the chief city in GHILAN, about 20 years ago was surrounded by a thick wood, which rendered it extremely unwholesome; insomuch that the ARMENIANS, who came from TURKEY to buy silk, usually stopped a day's journey short of this place, and sent their servants into the city. But the RUSSIANS no sooner possessed this best part of the province, than they cleared the ground for near fifteen miles to the southward, and a prospect is now opened which is bounded only by the mountains: these are very lofty, their tops being generally covered with snow through the whole year. The air of GHILAN, though admirably adapted to the cultivation of raw silk and rice, of which no province has such plenty, is far from being healthful; the sudden changes of it are productive of agues, especially to those who are careless in their cloathing. The numerous marshes occasioned by the inundation of the CASPIAN, the rice-fields often laid under water, and the vicinity of the mountains which are covered with wood, all contribute to hurt the air, especially when the heat of the sun is violent, and consequently the exhalations strong. There are frogs and gnats innumerable, nor are spiders less abundant; the extreme moisture of the earth breeds insects even in their houses, whilst the air is so productive of rust, that even the work of a watch can with difficulty be preserved. The inhabitants of the province observe, that women, mules, and poultry enjoy health, when all other animals pine away with sickness; from whence it may be concluded, that the confinement of the women contributes to their preservation. June, July, and August are their most unhealthy months: in October, November, and December they have generally heavy rains. In the year 1741 an incredible quantity of snow fell, insomuch that the people of RESHD had no communication with each other for some days, but from their house-tops, which however are not very lofty: they even assured me that the snow was, in some places, to the depth of seven yards.

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They enjoy here a long spring: their lawns and meadows are strewed with flowers, and the bushes with honey-suckles, sweet biars, and roses. The soil is exceeding fertile, producing some hemp and hops, and almost every kind of fruit without culture; for besides oranges, lemons, peaches, and pomegranates, here are abundance of grapes, the vines supporting themselves on the trees, and growing wild in the mountains with great luxuriancy; so that a considerable part of this province is quite a paradise, notwithstanding the many great inconveniences which attend it. Their grapes, for want of cultivation, are not of the most excellent kind; nor will they make tolerable wine, without a mixture of raisins from the southern parts of the empire; but these fermented together produce very good wine. Their other fruits are not reckoned wholesome, especially to foreigners; the peaches and figs, in particular, partake much of the pernicious moisture which predominates in the lower parts of the province. GHILAN is also remarkable for producing great quantities of box-wood, for which camels have an extreme fondness, though it is their immediate death if they eat of it; for this reason there are few or no camels brought into this province, their caravans consisting of horses, mules, and cows<sup>a</sup>.

There are several rivers and inlets on the coast of GHILAN that abound in fish: the most remarkable in the river of LANGAROOD, are pike, carp, a species of cod, and an oily fish called COTTOOME, much esteemed by the PERSIANS; the head of it resembles that of a mullet, but the colour, fins, and scales are like those of a carp. There is another fish found in most of the rivers and inlets on the PERSIAN coast, and also in the VOLGA, but never seen at sea: it is called SOOME, the head is very large, and has the nearest resemblance to that of a dog fish, but the colour and shape of the body is like a cod; it has no scales, but from the navel to the tail there runs a soft fin on the belly, as well as the back: this fish, as I have been told, is very ravenous, and devours like a shark, though it has no teeth; the flesh of it when boiled is extremely soft, and is never eaten by the PERSIANS.

<sup>a</sup> These carry burthens like other animals.



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## C H A P. XLII.

*Ignorance of the PERSIANS in regard to maritime affairs. The author sets out on his second journey from LANGAROOD to ASTRABAD. Description of the province of MAZANDERAN, with the cities of AMUL, BALFRUSH, &c. he is kindly received by the governor of the province. The modern PERSIANS debauched by spirituous liquors.*

IN the close of this month of April Mr. ELTON set up the stem and stern of the ship he was building ; upon which occasion we drank the SHAH's health, and fired the cannon we had on shore. The PERSIANS have very little maritime strength : in the gulph of PERSIA they once had between 20 and 30 ships, partly built in EUROPE, and some in PEGU and SURAT ; but they were navigated by INDIANS and PORTUGUESE. Their ship-carpenters on the CASPIAN were mostly INDIANS, who perform their business with delicacy, but are very slow, and unfit for large work ; neither do they understand much of the structure of vessels, or of the method of navigating them. But there cannot be a stronger instance of the ignorance of the PERSIANS in regard to maritime affairs, than that of MYRZA MEHTIE, who was appointed admiral of the coast before

fore he had ever seen a ship: this was the man who was afterwards nominated by NADIR, to examine into the CHRISTIAN religion. Being now as tired of idleness, as impatient to bring my business to an issue, I determined to wait no longer, and accordingly the first of May in the evening we set out for ASTRABAD.

Besides Mr. LOFTUS, who had been with me in the camp, and on whom I depended as an interpreter, I took also MATTEUSE, the old ARMENIAN, who was with me when the rebellion broke out. We were six persons well armed, and MAHOMMED KHAN had promised to furnish us with a convoy of fifty soldiers, if necessary; for some of the inhabitants of MAZANDERAN, as well as ASTRABAD, had been in the rebellion; and knowing upon what business we were going, and that part of the money must be levied on them or their relations, it was not unreasonable to apprehend, that they would make no scruple to obstruct our journey, if they had a favourable opportunity.

The first evening we were benighted and lost in a wood: we had successively procured several guides; but they all ran from us, apprehending we should treat them injuriously. In this perplexity we made towards a house, where we saw a light, but found the entrance barricadoed with trees: we used some entreaties to persuade the master of it to conduct us to RUDIZAR; but as we could not make any impression on him, we broke into his house, and tying a rope to one of his arms, compelled him to conduct us. However unwarrantable this conduct may appear, it was quite agreeable to the practice of PERSIA in such cases, and now seemed absolutely necessary, especially as we meant no harm; on the contrary, after the man had conducted us to RUDIZAR, he was handsomely paid for his trouble.

The 2d, We saw a ship in the offing<sup>a</sup>, upon which we stopt at a little village in the mountains, and sent an express to LANGAROOD; but receiving answer the next day, that this ship was not captain WOODROOFE'S, we proceeded on our journey without any more flattering expectations.

<sup>a</sup> Sea term for a ship which appears on a coast.

Travelling about fix leagues, we soon entered the province of MAZANDERAN, the weather being extremely delightful. Two of the carriers of my baggage through fear, or some worse cause, left us and their loads in a very abrupt manner. The 4th, my horses and mules being at pasture, were visited by a wolf of a very extraordinary size, of which there are numbers in these mountains; being driven off by the guard which was set for such purposes, this animal contented himself with killing a cow. In the morning we set out early, and came up with a detachment of fifty soldiers, the commander of which very courteously offered his service to convoy us.

I observed that some of the lower parts of MAZANDERAN very much resemble GHILAN; but they are not so closely encircled by mountains, and the air is more free and pure. This province also abounds in water, of which many streams issue from the springs in the mountains; but the rice-fields require a plentiful distribution of it. They tell a story of an inhabitant of the low-lands, who being asked the length of the province, answered, "TOOL up to the waist," the word TOOL in PERSIC signifies length; but, in the dialect of the province, mud. In the time of ALEXANDER the GREAT these people were called MARDI, and the ancient name of the province of MAZANDERAN was MARGIANA. This country is as fruitful as GHILAN, and much more healthful; in fact the inhabitants are stronger, and more robust. It produces great quantities of cotton, which are sent in large boats to the market at RESHD, from whence part of it is carried into RUSSIA; and this is the only province in the north of PERSIA that produces sugar.

This day we arrived at KIRCULLI, a little village near the sea-shore, where we met with a courier from MAHOMMED KHAN, with an open letter, requiring the commander of the fifty men to march along the coast, and seize all the boats for the SHAH's service. This order was conducted with so little secrecy, that besides the letter being open, it was delivered by mistake to my interpreter. The peasants and boatmen, having had previous notice, concealed in the creeks the few boats that were on the coast. The usual method, in such cases, is to oblige the elders to make report in writing of what boats belong to the village; and if they are discovered

to conceal any, they are severely fined. I presented the commander of the fifty men with cloth for a coat, and obtained a detachment of ten of his soldiers for our convoy.

The earth having been refreshed with heavy showers of rain, we made two stages, and travelled eleven hours. As we advanced deeper into the province, the villagers grew more insolent, inasmuch that one of them seized the commander of my ten men by his throat. It is very dangerous to come to extremities with these peasants, whose numbers and resolution enable them to contend: for if they beat or distress any one, they are often called to an account in such a manner, that, of the two evils, they think murder the least, in hopes it may prevent enquiry; or at worst they can hide themselves in their mountains. The house assigned for my lodging, was inhabited by women and children, to whose intreaties it was my duty to submit, though contrary to custom in such cases; I therefore pitched my tent. Night drawing on, we discovered ourselves to be in a very bad neighbourhood; the villagers here had appeared in arms in the late rebellion, and formed a design of attacking MAHOMMED KHAN, as he retired before the TURKUMANS; their situation being such, that ten men might have defeated the KHAN, and his whole party. These people now imagining us to be extremely rich, would not be persuaded that our brass buttons were not gold: their chief boasted of his great dexterity in the use of fire-arms, as a specimen of which he killed a small bird on a lofty tree with a single ball. The villagers being now alarmed with apprehensions, that my convoy had orders to apprehend them, took to their arms, and retired, refusing to supply the soldiers with any provisions; however I procured food for them, upon condition that they, together with some of my own people, should remain under arms during the night. The inhabitants in the neighbouring mountains were also no less disaffected; and several horsemen came into the village during the night, but finding us on our guard, they feigned excuses for their unreasonable motions, and retired.

The 6th, The dangerous situation in which I had slept, produced an equal satisfaction on my departure. By seven in the morning the sun was extremely hot; I observed that the PERSIANS are not cautious of the im-

pressions of the sun in any degree equal to the PORTUGUEZE; for the last seldom travel without a cloak and umbrella, they also use scull-caps of paper, or a cabbage-leaf under their hats; here the common people only guard the crown of the head, which is often bare in other parts, with a silk-quilted scull-cap. The intense action of the sun, even in more moderate climates, I conceive to be injurious beyond the common attention of physicians, especially to feverish constitutions; and that the evils arising from it are oftentimes not traced to their real cause. About nine, we took shelter in a wood, and pitched our tents, determining to travel only in the evenings, or at night. The 7th, we travelled five leagues: on the road we met several peasants returning home with rice, which the SHAH had caused to be distributed among them; and we understood likewise they were excused from taxes, which they COULD NOT pay. Early the next morning we struck our tents; the soldiers, contrary to their engagement, having left us in the night to take care of ourselves.

As we approached towards AMUL, the country appeared still more pleasant: this city is situated in a plain at the foot of that part of mount TAURUS, where the PERSIANS say ALEXANDER encamped, and refreshed his army: it is watered by a river, over which there is a sumptuous bridge of 12 arches. They have a tradition, that if any governor or commander pass over it on horseback, he will soon be deprived of his office, if not of his life; and that whoever would not be pursued by ill fortune, ought to walk over it: this however is certain, that although the stream is rapid, and the water foul, the PERSIANS generally ford it: and as I did not chuse to be regarded as a person excluded from the common bounties of heaven, I thought proper to comply so far as to lead my horse, and walk over the bridge. Here we found the ruins of an old fortress, which had been very strong and regular, beyond any I saw in PERSIA: the walls were of brick, and of great thickness; they say it has been repaired every two hundred years since the time of the original foundation, said to be 4000 years ago; but this unluckily happens to be before the deluge, according to our accounts. It is certain however that this is one of the cities of the antient PERSIANS, and much esteemed for its situation by the  
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sovereigns of this country. Here is a palace built with stone, which the famous SHAH ABAS often made his residence: it has two stories which command a pleasant prospect, and is well contrived for coolness and convenience. The garden is remarkable for the size and height of its cyprus-trees.

In this city I met a writer in the service of MAHOMMED KHAN, who received me with great civility, and expressed much concern that he was ignorant of my circumstances, when I was in his company retiring before the TURKUMANS. He informed us, that SADOQ AGA, and his TARTARS, when they came into this place, were not above 150 in number; but as his master the KHAN had only 60 fighting men with him, they would certainly have attacked us, if the townsmen of AMUL had not magnified our strength, pretending that we had received a reinforcement from SHIRVAN. "We were afraid," said he, "not only of the TARTARS, but of the inhabitants of the province, who were ripe for a revolt. SADOQ AGA demanded money and provision of this city, and, to give a greater impression of the force of the rebel-army, he required also no less than fifty-thousand pair of horse-shoes. As soon as the townsmen thought that MAHOMMED KHAN was marched out of danger, they assured SADOQ AGA they should make no difficulty in serving him, provided he took MAHOMMED KHAN prisoner. The rebels accordingly pursued the KHAN; but after a few days, news arriving from KHORASAN of the defeat of MAHOMMED HASSAN, and the main body of the rebel army; these people prepared to give SADOQ AGA a warm reception, in case he should return this way. Several of his party took to the mountains, but sixty of them came here, of which half were TURKUMANS: many of these fought very gallantly, twelve were killed on the spot, and 18 taken prisoners, and put to death. The thirty KHAJARS surrendered themselves, and having been deprived of their fight by order of the SHAH, are now in this city."

The secretary, having given me this information concerning the fate of those rash men, invited me to hear his music, of which one instrument resembled a flute, another a kettle-drum, a third a gittar; an old man

man and two boys at the same time sung and danced. It must be noted, that neither of these accomplishments are taught, except to persons who hire themselves for this purpose; in others they are considered as mean and ignoble. Here I observed the same kind of movements as in PORTUGAL; and it is probable that the PORTUGUEZE brought these dances from this country, as before the conquest of ORMUS they had an intimate connexion with the PERSIANS. The boys moved their heads, legs, and arms at the same time in a very extravagant manner; the writer however acknowledged the entertainment was not the most perfect of its kind: he then sent for a priest, remarkable as a good finger; this man raised his voice to a degree of amazement, his quavers were mixed with a very harsh guttural, and the distortions of his visage such, as rather created horror than delight; nor was their instrumental music less ungrateful to my ear.

The people of AMUL, as in many other parts of this coast, begin in May to retire into the neighbouring mountains, where they live in tents, and enjoy cool breezes, delightful shades, plenty of fruits, the most delicious water, with an extensive prospect of a fine country below them. Near this place are mines well furnished with iron ore, where the SHAH had his chief foundery for his cannon, ball, and bomb-shells, as also forges for horse-shoes: and supposing the PERSIAN marine would succeed, they intended also to make anchors. They have plenty of rice and wheat, and also printed cottons, in which articles they trade with the neighbouring provinces.

The 9th, in the evening we left AMUL, and travelled through a delightful country till two in the morning, when, after resting ourselves in tents, we departed for BALFRUSH, the capital of the province. My first enquiry was concerning the conduct of the rebels when I left the place in february last, and I received the following account. The townsmen, apprehensive of the cruelty of the TURKUMANS, or little concerned about their loyalty to NADIR SHAH, submitted very quietly to SADOQ AGA. When he went in pursuit of MAHOMMED KHAN, he appointed ISMAEL BEG, a person of some distinction, as their governor, but without leaving

ing him any forces. Upon the news of the defeat of the rebels, their governor was seized, and holes being cut in his flesh, they set lighted candles into them; in this barbarous manner they led him about the market-place naked, till with loss of blood he expired.

If we consider a people universally alienated from their sovereign, and yet exercising such horrid cruelties for what they esteemed no crime; it can be reconciled only by habit, and a custom of insensibility, joined to the terrors of this tyrant's power, which thus conjured up so many millions of diabolical spirits to torment and destroy each other.

The 11th, I visited MAHOMMED KHAN, whose house was a few miles from the city, in a delightful situation. There was nothing grand about it; but the adjacent woods and rivulets gave it an air of simplicity, and afforded more pleasure than the most sumptuous palace, where we see only finished strokes of art. In the area before his house were drawn up under arms 150 men, in two double lines. I alighted, according to custom, some yards distance from the house, and bowing with my hand on my breast, advanced towards him: the KHAN was seated in his AI-VAN, and received me with great expressions of kindness: as a more convincing proof of his regard, he released a man who was tied, and condemned to be beaten; telling me, that he did it for my sake, and to do me honour. I made him a present of some fine cloth and a case of choice drams, of which this irreligious MAHOMMEDAN was immoderately fond. He told me I must be his guest, with many assurances that a proper and sufficient guard should be provided to attend us to ASTRABAD; which province he said was entirely ruined by the rebellion, and the fatal consequences of it; desiring for my own sake, that I would make as short a stay in that city as possible. He observed further that BEHBUD KHAN the king's general, was a very worthy man, but loved presents; and that this general, as well as the others at ASTRABAD, were ordered by the king on an expedition to BALKHAN.

As I had consented to take up my lodgings with him that night, he ordered poultry and sheep to be killed, meaning to shew me so much favour,

vour, as to wipe off the stains his reputation had suffered by his ill treatment of me before ; for he now pretended, that he was then entirely ignorant of my condition, or he had certainly provided me with a sufficient number of horses, and all things necessary for my journey. At dinner we had very little conversation ; for it is not the custom of the PERSIANS, on that occasion, to talk much ; nor did the ignorance of the KHAN admit of his making many pertinent enquiries. As he was desirous to do me pleasure, he sent for his dancers and music, with which I was tormented the whole evening, my nerves being too weak to bear so much noise as was made by eight instruments and three fingers : and here it may be worth observing, that though an EUROPEAN ear cannot be reconciled to their taste in music, yet ours is agreeable to them. When they had performed their business, the dancing-men presented me an orange, which was a civil way of demanding payment for their trouble. After dinner the KHAN invited me to drink brandy with him ; upon my refusal he expressed great surprize, that I being an EUROPEAN and a CHRISTIAN, did not delight in spirituous liquors. As soon as I retired, he and his companions could not resist making trial of the strong waters I had presented him : their usual way is for each person to set a plate of sweet-meats before him, and drink their liquor in tea-cups till they are drunk, which is generally effected in a very short time.

The next morning we visited the monument of the KHAN's favourite wife, who had been lately buried in a wood near his house. There was an epitaph, not differing much from the EUROPEAN manner : the author, according to the common sense of mankind, compared life to a flower that blossoms in the spring, and in the summer appears in the full lustre of its beauty ; but in autumn begins to wither and decline, and when winter comes on, every gust of wind blows it to the ground, where it lays and rots.

Before I took my leave of the KHAN, I desired he would tell me definitively what number of men he would give me for a guard ; he replied, as many as I pleased : but I soon found, that five men must be the number as far as KOLEBAWD, from whence only, he said, there was any danger ; and that there I might obtain any number of soldiers.

## C H A P. XLIII.

*The author's journey through MAZANDERAN. A short description of SHAH ABAS's causeway and of the antient temple of the worshippers of fire; as also of the famous palace of ASHREFF. Pyramids of human heads at the entrance of ASTRABAD.*

ON the 13th of May, I dispatched a courier to Mr. ELTON, to inform him of what had passed in relation to the king's business, and the intended expedition to BALKHAN, for which captain WOODROOFE was required to be the leading ship: by the same courier I informed him concerning the buffaloes, which he required to be sent from ASTRABAD to draw timber: I was informed that these animals are yet stronger than oxen; but if provoked, are dangerous and intractable: they are very hot in their constitution, and delight much in water and marshy grounds.

Leaving BALFRUSH, we travelled three leagues through a delightful country to ALLEABAD, where is a palace of mean appearance, but pleasantly situated. The most important and useful monument of antiquity in this country is the cause-way built by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, about the beginning of the last century, which runs from KESKAR, in the south-west corner of the CASPIAN, by ASTRABAD in the south-east corner, and several leagues yet further, being in all near 300 ENGLISH miles. During this period it has hardly been ever repaired; it must be observed however, that few or no wheel-carriages are in use in this country, so that the pavement is yet preserved in many places very perfect: in some parts it is above 20 yards broad, being raised in the middle with ditches on each side; there are many bridges upon it, under which water is conveyed to the rice-fields; but these are made level, and do not interrupt the prospect. From ALLEABAD to SARI there are some perspectives from south-west to north-east for above a league together, bordered on each side by a thick wood, whose luxuriant branches afford a delightful shelter to travellers. There are also many avenues into meadows and rice-fields, which variegate the prospect, and delight the imagination.

The inhabitants at SARI were in a very miserable condition, complaining loudly of the king, and no less of SADOQ AGA, and his TURKUMAN TARTARS, who had been with them for some days, on the occasion of their incursion into MAZANDERAN. Here we learnt, that four thousand men from the king's camp were arrived at HAZAR-JEREB, and that a body of forces, levied in this province, were ordered to take possession of all the avenues, to prevent the inhabitants from running away: thus the condition of the people being rendered more desperate, those who had appeared in arms against the king, were become the more dangerous to travellers.

SARI was built by the antient PERSIANS; there are yet four temples of the GEBRES, or worshippers of fire, who formerly inhabited all this coast: it seemed inconsistent, that the PERSIANS suffered these temples to remain unmolested, after the abolition of a religion, which they now esteem grossly idolatrous: but they are made of the most durable materials. These edifices are rotund as of about thirty feet diameter, raised in height to a point near 120 feet. Of the religion of these people, I shall have occasion to say more, when I come to speak of the everlasting fire at BAKU.

The 14th, We continued our rout through a most delightful country to ASHREFF: here the cause-way was much decayed. SHAH ABAS delighted greatly in the southern coast of the CASPIAN, and particularly in MAZANDERAN: he built a lodge every two leagues for his refreshment in travelling; many of these buildings were yet habitable. The custom of the PERSIANS forbids any subject to sit in the palaces of their kings, whether they are absent, or not; but this ceremony by no means suited us who were fatigued. From one of these buildings we had a fair view of the great mountain DEMOAN, on which the PERSIANS say the ark rested, whilst the ARMENIANS ascribe this honour to mount ARARAT, which is also visible in clear weather on the western coast of the CASPIAN, if what was shewn me as such, is the real ARARAT, because the distance seems to be rather too great.

In the afternoon we arrived at ASHREFF, where with difficulty we obtained lodgings; my ARMENIAN servants attempted to beat the peasants,  
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and compel them to procure quarters, though they had no better authority for it, than what was derived from their being armed. The PERSIANS have been now so long accustomed to this kind of severity, that I hardly observed a single instance of that private resentment and revenge, so common amongst christians, particularly in the south of EUROPE.

In this place is a celebrated palace built by SHAH ABAS, far exceeding any on the whole coast of the CASPIAN sea. Over the gate which forms the entrance, are the arms of PERSIA, being a lion with the sun rising behind it<sup>a</sup>, alluding to the strength and glory of the PERSIAN monarchy. Within this gate is a long avenue, on each side of which are thirty apartments intended for a royal guard: the next gate in front opens into a garden, in the middle of which is a channel made with stone, about three feet wide, and one deep: In this channel runs a stream of water, which has four falls of about an ell high, thirty yards distance from each other, each having a small basin and fountain: these falls must have a fine effect; for on the side near the stream, holes are cut to fix candles at equal distances, to the number of about a thousand: at the head of these is a large stone-basin about six feet deep. In the building there is near this basin a sumptuous AIVAN painted with gold flowers on a blue ground very well executed: here are also several portraits, which seem to have been done by a HOLLANDER, but no masterly hand. On the sides of the AIVAN are several small apartments, and behind this building are three other falls of water, which pour down from the side of a steep mountain covered with wood.

The garden consists chiefly in walks, bordered by very large pines, orange, and other fruit-trees dispersed in beds, with streams of water running between them. From thence we were carried into another garden much in the same taste, in which stood the HARRAM: there was no body in it; yet being the women's apartment, it was considered as sacred, and we were not permitted to go into it. Before it is a large basin of water, and a square with marble benches at each corner; a fycamour of prodigious size in the center, shaded the whole with its extended branches:

<sup>a</sup> See frontispiece of this volume:

here were also cascades in the same manner as related in the other garden. From thence we were conducted to a banqueting-house, which was dedicated to a grandson of ALI; out of respect to this place we were required to leave our swords at the door. The solemnity with which we were conducted, struck me with a kind of religious awe; but this was soon changed into contempt; for I was surprized to find the room adorned with paintings, such as could please only a voluptuous MAHOMMEDAN. Here were also portraits of SHAH ABAS the first and second, and of some other persons, all by an EUROPEAN hand, but meanly performed. It had no furniture but rich carpets, which were then piled into great heaps.

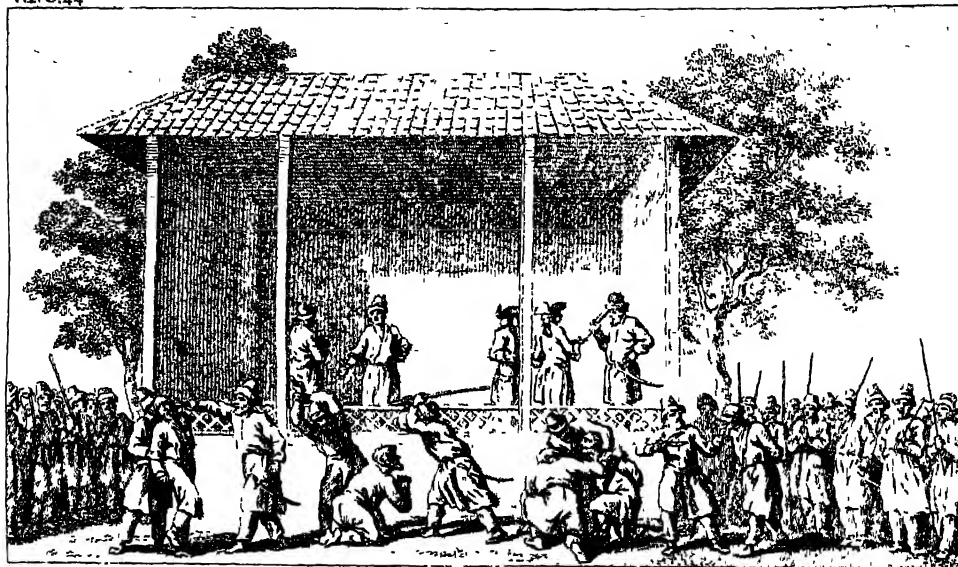
We were now shewn a fourth house and garden, in which was the spring that gave water to the greatest part of the whole: in this was a stately dome, whose top was indifferently well painted, and the walls were covered with DUTCH tiles as high as the gallery. At some distance from this on an eminence is a small building, which seemed to be intended for an observatory. The whole commands a view of a very fine country, the CASPIAN sea being about five miles distance: the vicinity of the mountains on the back of this palace, the numerous cascades, and the music of the birds, gave me many pleasing ideas: but the unhappy situation of the people still returned to my thoughts, and blunted the edge of that pleasure which I might have otherwise enjoyed.

The 15th, we left ASHREFF, and travelled four leagues to KOLEBAWD; through this village runs a stream of water, which parts the provinces of MAZANDERAN and ASTRABAD. Upon the road we met a courier with a letter from HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED, to acquaint me that his estate had been seized upon, his sons obliged to fly, himself imprisoned, and in great danger of being put to death: he therefore besought I would hasten my journey, and use my interest to save his life. MAHOMMED KHAN had assured me, that in this village I might procure a guard to ASTRABAD of any number of men; but according to the ordinary uncertainty of such assurances in PERSIA, no guard at all could be found; for the peasants, not liking their situation, had deserted the village: what  
added



added to this disappointment was, that besides the robbers which were in the adjacent mountains, the OGURTJOY pirates had made a descent at this place a few days before, and murdered several people after plundering their houses. We were fourteen in number well armed, and determined to defend ourselves: the house in which we took up our lodging had been plundered by the TURKUMANS and KHAJARS during the late rebellion, but upon the reverse of their fortune, the owner had received his own goods again, with the charge of other effects.

HAVING spent the night with a watchful uneasiness, the next day we went forward for ASTRABAD, passing by several detachments of armed-villagers, who had thrown up an intrenchment fortified with palisadoes; they were ordered to examine passengers, and keep the road free. As we approached to ASTRABAD, we met several armed horsemen carrying home the peasants whose eyes had been put out, the blood yet running down their faces. Near the entrance of the city on each side was a pyramid built of stone whitened over, and made full of niches; these pyramids were about sixteen or twenty feet diameter at the basis, rising gradually into a point to near forty feet; at the top of each was a single head. This being towards the close of the execution, the greatest part of the niches were filled with human heads, of which several had beards, and being set a little projecting, added to the horror of this object. I had been fourteen days on my journey from LANGAROOD, and found the nearest computation of the distance to be about 250 ENGLISH miles.



## C H A P. XLIV.

*The author arrives at ASTRABAD. His reception by the SHAH's general. Cruelties exercised on the rebels. The author visits MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. His character. Secret causes of the rebellion in ASTRABAD : An account of the battle fought by the rebels with the SHAH's forces.*

THE 16th of May we entered the city of ASTRABAD the second time; a scene of misery and desolation, which amply verified the prediction of the woman<sup>a</sup>. Upon my arrival I was informed, that the executions of that day consisted in cutting out the left eyes of thirty men, beheading four, and burning one alive, the last having been a captain in the rebel-guard. Two hundred women were also sent out of the city, of which one hundred and fifty were ordered to be sold as slaves to the soldiers.

The next day I passed through several streets, which appeared to have no inhabitants except foldiers, and a few old women. I sent a present to BEHBUD KHAN the king's general, and immediately followed it myself. He was seated in his AIVAN, with a semicircle of his soldiers drawn up a

<sup>a</sup> See page 205.

little below him, judging and condemning the unhappy rebels, who were brought before him one or two at a time, as he demanded them. After the compliments of welcome, he asked me why I did not stay in ASTRABAD till he came? As I knew nothing of him when I left the place, I thought the question a little extraordinary. I told him I did not remain in ASTRABAD because I was afraid of violence to my person, or of being made a slave to the TURKUMAN TARTARS; moreover that it was my business to seek justice of the SHAH, whose decree I had now the honour to present him; and then standing up, and taking it in both my hands, I lifted it up to my head, and delivered it to him: he stood up and received it, and raising it to his forehead, gave it to his secretary to read. I have already observed, that the king ordered the money to be paid, according to the account I should deliver, out of the sequestered estates of the rebels; deducting the value of what goods could be found, which were ordered to be delivered to me. The general said, "the decree must be obeyed." I replied, "You may see how great favour the king has shewn us, not only in ordering payment, but that it shall be done soon, and therefore I hope you will pay honour to the decree by seeing it executed immediately." He assured me it should be done without delay, and spoke as follows: "You find how the rebels have changed their blood for your crimson cloth. If it pleases the almighty to give the king health, no attempt of this sort will prevail against him." He then presented me sweet-meats and large white mulberries, which are a delicious fruit: the prisoners were taken from his presence whilst we eat: In the interim the secretary made a complimentary speech on the general usefulness of merchants, observing "that they brought wealth into countries, were servicable to kings; and ought not to be offended by any, but protected by all parties."

BEHBU D KHAN had the title of "high and mighty minister of ministers, and general of ATTOK, with the frontiers of TURKUMANIA." He was a stout black man, with an open countenance, hard featured, looking fierce and undisturbed, as to any sentiment of compassion. After a short repast, a prisoner was brought before him, who had too large logs of wood fitted

to

to the small of his leg, and riveted together : there was also a heavy triangular collar of wood about his neck ; one of the parts being made longer than the other two, served as a hand-cuff to his left wrist, so that if he attempted to rest his arm, it must press on his neck. The general asked me, if that man had taken my goods ; I told him, I did not remember to have ever seen him before. He was then questioned for some time, and at length ordered to be beaten with sticks, which was performed by two soldiers with such severity, as if they meant to kill him. The soldiers were then ordered to spit in his face, an indignity of great antiquity in the east ; this, and the cutting off beards, which I shall have occasion to mention, brought to my mind the sufferings recorded in the prophetic history of our Saviour<sup>b</sup>. The close of this hideous scene was an order to cut out the eyes of this unhappy man : the soldiers were dragging him to execution, whilst he begged with bitter cries, that he might rather suffer death : the general, whose heart seemed to be made of the same kind of stuff as his sword, did not grant this cruel mercy ; but the man, being recalled for further enquiry, the execution was suspended for that day.

SADOC AGA was then brought before the general. The reader will remember, that this young man was distinguished among the rebels by the rank of a general, and had the command of that detachment which was sent into MAZANDERAN. He had also a principal share in taking my caravan of cloth, and insulting me by his jests. EMIR KHAN his father was in such great favour with the king, that the son might have been pardoned for his sake ; but EMIR KHAN, fearing his interposition might involve himself in part of his son's disgrace, declared to the SHAH, that if SADOC AGA had been really his son, it was not possible he should have rebelled<sup>c</sup>. This young man was taken prisoner in MAZANDERAN, and brought before the governor of that province, who bid him “ be patient, and consider his condition as a picture of the world, sometimes to “ ride, and sometimes to carry the saddle,” alluding to a story of one of

<sup>b</sup> “ He gave his back to the smiters, and his cheeks to them that plucked off the hair ; he hid not “ his face from shame and spitting.”

<sup>c</sup> This is a common-place compliment to oriental tyrants, and has been often prostituted to the disgrace of humanity.

their

their prophets, whose horse died under him. SADOE AGA being sent prisoner to ASTRABAD, had his beard cut off, his face was rubbed with dirt, and his eyes were cut out. He was a youth of more than common vivacity, and when I saw him last, was richly dressed, well armed, and full of mirth. Alas! the scene was now changed, his garb was mean, and his eyes deprived of their light: he drooped his head, and his voice was changed. The general asked him concerning my goods, and told him he must pay for them; to which he answered, "All that I know of his merchandize is, that they were taken by MAHOMMED HASSAN, and by him distributed to his people. Would to GOD that MAHOMMED HASSAN, and his whole house, had been buried deep in the earth ere I had heard of his name. And how can I pay for the goods? I have nothing left but this mean garb which you see upon my back: indeed this is sufficient; you have already deprived me of my sight, and of what use is life to me?" This he expressed in pathetic terms, and with that emotion which is natural to a daring spirit, though in the deepest distress; but upon his saying these words, the general ordered him to be struck across the mouth to silence him; which was done with such violence, that the blood issued forth.

SADOE AGA being removed, HAHNGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED was brought, with a collar and log, in the manner already related of the other prisoners. I might now have said, HOW WISE YOU ARE! as he told me when I saw him last; but there never can be a proper time to insult the wretched. Perhaps, in strict justice, I ought not to have put any gloss upon this man's perfidious conduct; but in mercy, which seemed to be most wanted there, I was silent, and took my leave abruptly, having my heart too full to suffer this sort of entertainment.

From thence I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to whom I also made a present: this person has been already mentioned as father of him who was the governor of ASTRABAD at the time of the rebellion. The KHAN had been charged with the murder of SHAH TÆHMAS, and probably was glad to perpetrate this crime, fearing this prince's restoration, in case NADIR had died in his expedition to INDIA: this old man was how-

ever in the greatest confidence with the king, and honoured with the pompous title of, "the high and mighty minister of ministers, partner of a kingdom, and nearest to the throne; MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, lord of lords of ASTRABAD." He received me with great politeness, assuring me in the strongest terms, that he would not leave the place till my business was done agreeable to the SHAH's orders: "the king," added he, "has shewn great favour and kindness to GEMAL BEG and you: you are the king's guests, and therefore ought to be mine: and you are now to consider BEHBUD KHAN and myself as friends. I am charged with a particular commission from the king to see the rebels punished: I must do that for which I know I shall be damned; so the king will have it. I know the people here hate me, and have shewn the height of their resentment; but I am amazed they were deaf to the entreaties of NASEER AGA, a man without guile, who could have no intention but to preserve them. How strange it is that a king, whom all the princes of the earth revere, should not be obeyed by his own people! what could these rebels be so mad to think? But whatever they thought, how could they answer plundering you? well! to-morrow is a day of blood, and I will make them pay you, though I pull the money out of their throats."

My situation was not so unhappy as to induce me to thank him for his bloody intentions; for though these unhappy men had been rash to a degree of madness, and had acted as if they meant to devote themselves to ruin; yet to oppose such execrable tyranny wanted only more force and wisdom to stamp their action with a mark of glory. Nor could I behold without horror a man, whom a blind obedience to his prince could induce to shake hands with everlasting perdition; for so I understood the extraordinary declaration he had made. It is not improbable but the great share he had in murdering SHAH TÆHMAS, the last of their lawful kings, might now come fresh into his memory, and help to draw from him this confession. I told the KHAN, that I apprehended great part of the money which ought to be paid to me, was already recovered; he acknowledged that it was, but had been appropriated to the king's use; adding,

adding, that I should soon be paid : upon which I took my leave of him.

I could not help reflecting on these unhappy men, who suffered the deprivation of their sight : although this must be confessed a great calamity, according to the common sense of mankind ; yet we find some instances of men <sup>d</sup>, whose internal sight has been exalted by it much beyond what they might have otherwise enjoyed. The PERSIANS submit patiently to the dispensation of providence in this instance : few of them are instructed in the arts of contemplative life, and yet they seem to arrive at a certain tranquility as it were by custom and natural disposition. It is probable that blind men are the more sincerely reconciled to the thoughts of death, and have so far an advantage : the darkness in which they are involved, may make them long to break the chains of mortality, and bring them to the sight of the intellectual world. The PERSIANS regard blind men as dead, apprehending no mischief from them ; for when they are incapable of acting in person, they think their counsel cannot be of great consequence.

I had now a favourable opportunity of enquiring into the more secret causes of this rebellion, besides the obvious motives of robbing the king's treasure, and my caravan ; and also in what manner they conducted themselves after I left them. FATEY ALI KHAN, the father of MAHOMMED HASSAN <sup>e</sup>, I have observed, had some years before been put to death by NADIR, as I shall more particularly relate in the history of this great usurper. This created a strong jealousy in MAHOMMED HASSAN, that the late governor of ASTRABAD <sup>f</sup> meant to destroy him also : for he knew the governor was entirely in the king's interest ; and this increased his fear. SADOQ AGA, and MAHOMMED KHAN BEG, who were but a remove from boys, pleased with the hopes of a little plunder, and puffed up with military pride, fell into the same opinion ; besides this, MAHOMMED HASSAN had been in correspondence with the pretender RADE, whom the TURKS espoused, and in whose behalf he had lately appeared in

<sup>d</sup> HOMER, MILTON, LUCAS, and others.

<sup>e</sup> The rebel-chief.

<sup>f</sup> The son of

MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN above-mentioned, and a creature of NADIR.

arms in SHIRVAN, at the head of a body of 15,000 PERSIANS and LESGEEs, and cut out great work for the king's forces. Those rebel-troops had been entirely defeated some months before, which, had there been the least wisdom among the conspirators at ASTRABAD, must have prevented MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, and his followers, from appearing in arms. Weak and unexperienced as this young man was, to engage in so daring an enterprize, he flattered himself into a belief that what he wished would happen, though he did not discern by what means: he knew indeed that the king had no forces in MAZANDERAN nor GHILAN, and but a small body in the parts of KHORASAN near ASTRABAD. Thus circumstanced he bribed into his alliance 1000 TURKUMANS, all cavalry; and between force and persuasion, he induced 2000 people of the province, and the adjacent mountains, who were mostly infantry, to share in his fortune. The people of this province are called KHAJARS, and are some of the remains of the antient BACTRIANS<sup>d</sup>, so much distinguished for their treachery, as well as courage, by antient historians: they were not many years ago eight or ten thousand in number; they have often plundered great towns, and several times repulied the forces of the former kings, enriching themselves by spoil.

When the governor and NASEER AGA fled the evening before the rebels took the city, they went several days journey into KHORASAN, where they found BEHBUD KHAN with the command of 1500 of the king's best cavalry; but it was not till NASEER AGA challenged the courage and loyalty of this KHAN, that he consented to march against a force, which he apprehended would be much superior to his own: and indeed a singular providence intervened, or this body of troops had met an entire defeat. When the armies were near each other, one of the KHAJAR officers who had been forced into the rebel-army, went secretly to BEHBUD KHAN, and told him, if he would give quarter to him and his company, he would bring them all over to the king's party. This being accordingly promised, the officer secretly represented to his men the impossibility of supporting themselves, magnifying the number of the king's troops, which

<sup>d</sup> Some include KHORASAN, and other parts of independent TARTARY, in the antient BACTRIA, but it probably included the province of ASTRABAD.

he pretended were marching upon their rear, as well as front. The two armies being come to an engagement a few days journey to the eastward of ASTRABAD; at the first onset the rebels killed 50 men of the king's troops, and made the whole body give way: this advantage however was not followed, the rebels being mostly infantry: the KHAJAR officer above mentioned, and his company, turning the muzzles of their musquets down, now rode over to the king's troops: this gave such a shock to the KHAJARS, not knowing whom to trust, that they gave way in their turn: the TURKUMANS, who hitherto were only spectators, and perhaps never intended to act, except to plunder the camp of the vanquished, left the field. The pursuit and slaughter of the rebels ensued, and many of them fell. MAHOMMED HASSAN BEG, with about one hundred KHAJARS only, and almost every TURKUMAN, got safe into the deserts, where poverty, and want of water, secured them from a pursuit; but made their condition amongst those barbarians hardly to be preferred to death. Besides these, about one hundred fled to SHIRAS, to join the rebels there, and near the same number went to BABYLON; but the BASHA of that place put collars of wood about their necks, and sent them to NADIR's camp mounted on asses. The king thanked the BASHA; but desired their arms and horses might also be restored.

NADIR's forces marched immediately to ASTRABAD, where they brought the news of their own victory, and securing both the gates of the city, hemmed in several of the principal persons concerned in the rebellion, amongst whom was the governor BABA SADOQ. The great humanity and regard which I experienced from this man, gave me the greater sensibility of his misfortune, when I heard that his eyes were cut out; and after some days of pain, he was beheaded, and quartered, and the parts of his body exposed in different places in the city.



*Ant. Wölher del. et. Sculp.*

## C H A P. XLV.

*The manner of executing malefactors in PERSIA. The character and number of the TURKUMANS. The author solicits a reprieve for HAHDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED. He is offered payment of his loss in women slaves. Superstitious apprehensions of the PERSIANS.*

ON the 18th of May I received, in single pieces and cuts of cloth, to the amount of 1600 crowns, which the general had ordered to be delivered. There was a much greater value in cloth found in the city, but the general thought proper to convert it to his own use; which, the better to conceal, and at the same time to encrease his emoluments, he defired 50 GAZE more, which I delivered.

In the evening eight TURKUMAN TARTARS were taken in the road near the city, and brought prisoners; upon which the general expressed great satisfaction, observing that there was yet many niches in his pyramid unfilled; one of the two pyramids being called HIS, the other was in the name of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. The condemnation of a malefactor in PERSIA is conducted with very little ceremony, nor is the execution attended

attended with any pomp. He is usually carried to a field, or open place near the residence of the military judge; and the executioner causing him to kneel, the delinquent pronounces his creed: "There is but one GOD, " MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI is his friend," and then his head is taken off with the motion of a sabre in a thrusting cut, which in drawing back compleats the operation.

I now went to visit my good friend NASEER AGA, who had received a donative of honour from the king, for the service he had done in the rebellion. This old man expressed a high satisfaction in seeing me again, after the great dangers we had both been in: he complained heavily of the losses he had sustained, which, though true in part, I considered as political, in regard to the resentment he had brought on himself, for his infidelity in the king's service. He declined talking of the rebellion, saying in general terms, "God would not permit that the rebels should succeed against the king."

The 19th, I went to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who gave me fresh assurances of dispatch; and that a considerable payment should be made in a day or two. Whilst I was there, one of the TURKUMAN chiefs, supposed to be in friendship with the king, came to pay homage to the KHAN, and mentioning several circumstances in relation to his countrymen, observed that they were retired towards BALKHAN: upon which the KHAN, in an imperious and contemptuous stile, delivered himself in these terms: "I will burn and destroy all the corn you have on the frontiers of PERSIA, and try if you will give me battle. I know that you are all liars and villains, but a remove from beasts: honour and religion you have none. Your cloathing is filthy, and full of vermin; shake your caps, and they even cover the ground: your very eye-brows are not free. You have no better food than mare's milk; but if you have grass to cut into it, you devour it greedily. As to your wealth, if a man has two camels, and as many horses, he thinks himself immensely rich." The TURKUMAN heard him without the least emotion, and indeed what the KHAN had said was in great measure true; except that they profess the MAHOMMEDAN religion, and that they eat mutton and horse-flesh, as well

well grafs and mare's milk. They have only a small tract of arable land near ASTRABAD, which they cannot enjoy without the friendship of the PERSIANS; but the last are generally the most afraid. They reckon 2500 families of the TURKUMANS on the east coast of the CASPIAN, near this frontier: in each family are about seven persons, of which two are supposed to be fighting men. Towards KHIEVA they are more numerous: in those places where the country will admit of their being pursued, they are kept in awe.

NASEER AGA now informed me by letter, of the arrival of captain WOODROOFE in ASTRABAD-road, and as the TURKUMANS and OGURTJOYS were in arms against the PERSIANS, and possessed of a large number of boats, he thought it unsafe for our ship to lay in the road. I answered his letter, and thanked him for his advice; telling him, we did not fear those barbarians; and though they should come in number like a swarm of bees, if it pleased GOD, they would meet their destruction from our great guns. This was proper language to talk where the TURKUMANS had their spies; and was it not for the terror of our four 4 three pounders, the sum of money, which I was preparing to send on board, might have induced them to attack our ship at anchor. We had fired upon their boats on several occasions, to intimidate them; for as some of these boats had twelve or fifteen hands all armed, we should have found it difficult to defend the ship: however we had provided close quarters and powder-chests, so that they could not have taken us without an encounter, to which they were entire strangers.

The 21st, HAIDGEE MYRZA MAHOMMED delivered the greatest part of my baggage, of which he had been so extremely careful as to conceal it in a well, so that it received some damage: he also paid such part of the small sum he owed me, as he said was in his power. Nothing was more evident than the game he intended to play: if the rebellion had succeeded, he would have robbed me of my baggage, and other things, to the value of near a thousand crowns: but he was now reduced to his last stake, and depended on the clemency of the two KHANS for his life, and I resolved to try my interest in his favour. In the morning I went to them  
when

when they were both together, having just condemned, and ordered to execution, twenty-one persons belonging to KOORDIEMALLA. I acquainted them that the HAHDGEE had delivered my baggage, and I hoped would receive the king's mercy. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN said to me, "Have you a desire that he should be saved?" I answered in the affirmative, "and that I should look on his mercy to the HAHDGEE as a particular mark of his favour done to me;" to which he replied: "For your sake then he shall be saved. His majesty has shewn you great honour, it is my business to do the same," with many hyperbolical professions of regard. I returned him my thanks, with assurance of the high sense I had of his favour and protection. The HAHDGEE being then sent for, the KHAN, pointing to me, said, "for his sake I pardon you;" and immediately his collar and log were cut off; for the nails were driven so hard that the parts could not be otherwise separated. The HAHDGEE, from his knowledge of agriculture, and great experience in the management of his district, was a very useful man, especially as the province was now almost unpeopled: and it is highly probable the KHAN was glad for this reason to save him.

I then acquainted the KHAN of the fears which NASEER AGA had expressed in his letter concerning the OGURTJOY and TURKUMAN pirates, and of the answer I had made: he approved of it, and desired me to consider his house as my own, and the general and himself as brothers. I took my leave, and he immediately sent me eight live sheep, and four lambs, as provision for my family.

The HAHDGEE soon came to visit me, and after making his compliments, before he could feel himself clear of his shackles, began to talk rebelliously in this manner: "They have now given me my life, what must I do with it? They have taken away the greatest part of my estate, my sons are run from me for fear, and I am left destitute. Shall I fly into GHILAN? what shall I do?" As I had no inclination for his further acquaintance, I did not enter into the nature of his circumstances, of which he was himself the best judge.

The 22d, Two couriers arrived from the camp, with orders to the king's generals here, and in the neighbourhood, to prepare for BALKHAN: this expedition was generally thought impracticable; several armies in past ages having perished in those deserts for want of water, and the PERSIANS say, that only TAMERLANE, the great conqueror of the east, ever passed it successfully.

The 23d, I received 3000 crowns, having already recovered about the same sum in cloth and baggage. In a visit I made BEHBUD KHAN, he demanded, for the second time, if I would take part of my payment in the women who were to be sold as slaves. I imagined when he made this proposal before, that he jested, nor could I ever understand how their religion would admit of their women being sold to christians; but the distraction of the times seemed to have destroyed all distinctions: I excused myself, by saying the only merchandize I sought was raw silk. Being informed that my age was 32, he expressed great astonishment at my hoary locks, till I informed him it was a wig, which he took for my own hair.

The 24th, The city was alarmed, with news of the return of the TURKUMANS, who had carried off a great quantity of corn; upon which a disposition was made for cutting off their retreat. MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN and the general differed extremely in their tempers and dispositions; the former was the most cruel, as well as avaricious. There were yet two hundred persons in prison, of whom many were not guilty: the general bluntly told the KHAN, "the SHAH has given you the power, use it as you please; but I will not be concerned in saving the guilty, nor in condemning the innocent." A colonel in the army, who had been in favour with the SHAH, and now was unjustly imprisoned by the KHAN, found means to acquaint the SHAH with these illegal proceedings; the KHAN, having discovered this correspondence, raved like a madman: at night 200 men were sent to cut down the TURKUMANS corn, and to burn what they could not bring away.



## C H A P. XLVI.

JOHN ELTON ordered upon an expedition against the TURKUMANS who invade PERSIA. *Perfidy and venality of the PERSIANS.*

THE 26th of May, 1744. appeared a strange phænomenon, as the PERSIANS idly imagined. A smoke arose from the top of a lofty tree, no fire, nor any other object having been visibly conveyed there. The most superstitious intimated, that the SHAH was certainly dead; the tree being an image of his greatness, and the smook of his breath, which was now departing from him. This alarm, however ridiculous, was dangerous with regard to my safety, well as the recovery I solicited; but it did not last long, for one who had the happiness to enjoy more common sense than the generality, discovered that it was an old bird's nest, which having been much moistened with rain, the sun drew an exhalation from it. News was now brought, that the SHAH had ordered Mr. ELTON to take charge of all the ships which were to go with provisions to BALKHAN, confessing that his own people had no knowledge of sea-affairs, and declaring in flattering terms, that he knew GEMAL BEG<sup>a</sup> serv-

<sup>a</sup> The name now given to Mr. ELTON.

ed him out of love and regard, and not out of fear or avarice. The SHAH however discovering there was danger of losing his forces in this expedition, sent FMIR KHAN on an embassy to the TURKUMANS, to invite them to a submission. One of the TURKUMAN chiefs at the same time wrote to the SHAH, representing the impossibility of his building a fort at BALKHAN, unless he meant to destroy all the forces he sent there, or all the TURKUMANS, intimating their determined resolution not to submit.

The number of men who had been cut off, having made women very cheap, and the distraction of the times, as I have observed, preventing the distinction of CHRISTIAN and MAHOMMEDAN, I could not restrain my AR-MENIAN servants: in past times such commerce in PERSIA would have been attended with fatal consequences. A woman of no mean quality and beauty came to my house, imploring protection; I knew not by what authority I could make my house an asylum, otherwise than to permit her to remain with me, if she was not required to be delivered up; besides as things were circumstanced, I could not engage to guard her honour from any one, except my self; however, I gave a strict charge concerning her, that no law of hospitality might be violated, though the lady should be indifferent upon this article.

Continual demands being made on me for presents of the fragments of cloth which had been delivered to me, I found no other expedient to preserve them, than to pack them up, and send them on board captain WOODROOFE's ship. The 28th, the two KHANS were in great debate, in consequence of which fifteen MULLAHS were set at liberty, and the wives and concubines of the KHAJARS, who had neither youth nor beauty to induce these chiefs to keep them for themselves, were sent into KHORASAN. The 29th, the foragers came galloping into the city, with notice that the TURKUMANS had defeated an advanced guard of 150 men, and were marching towards the city. The general BEHBUD KHAN, with equal giddiness and intrepidity, mounted his horse, and rode out of the city, as if he meant to repulse them with his own hands; his soldiers followed in a confused and precipitate manner: and now I learnt that their force, which they had represented as 3000, by the detachments they had

had made, was reduced to 800 fighting men: the enemy soon retired, and the general and his troops returned. The next day both the KHANS, with all their forces, went to the banks of the KORGAN, two leagues north-east of the city, where they had a parley with the TURKUMANS, intending to prevent any further hostilities, till they should know the issue of the embassy.

The impatience which I expressed for the recovery of the money I was entitled to, produced a discovery that MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had flattered the general into a consent of appropriating the further sums which had been collected to the use of the SHAH's general at HARAR-JERIB: indeed the exigencies of the state greatly exceeded all the possible collections which could be made. The 3d of June I found my health began to decline for want of exercise. My situation was very disagreeable, for it was dangerous to go abroad even in the city, except when I visited the KHANS: I complained to NASEER AGA of the trifling payments which had been hitherto made me; observing that the KHANS had indeed assured me I should be paid soon: Sir, said he, I will tell you a story; "A certain man demanded of his debtor the sum due to him; the debtor assured him, that the next day the money should be paid. On the morrow the man returned; but, to his great surprize, was informed that the debtor was gone abroad; however he went after him, and finding him seated in a cross-way, began to expostulate, and remind him of his promise. The debtor then spoke in these terms: Sir, it is my full intention to pay you; and I am seated here for that very purpose: for a large flock of sheep will pass by here to-day; some of their wool will certainly remain on these bushes, I will pick it up, and carry it home to my wife, who will dress and prepare it; when that is done, I will make it into carpets, and as soon as I can sell them, I will discharge my debt." I was extremely pleased with the old man's humour; but this story was too easy to understand, to afford me any other satisfaction. I had already made considerable presents, and purposed to make more as soon as I apprehended they could produce any effect; but as yet it appeared to be in vain.

MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN was busy in the most iniquitous proceedings, endeavouring to suborn false witnesses to condemn the colonel, who, in consequence of the letter he had written to the SHAH, was now going to the camp. Two of the elders of KOORDIEMALLA, whose lives MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had saved for the presents they had made him, were now prevailed on to offer their evidence to the general against the colonel; and that their testimony might be heard favourably, they brought him presents. The general ordered their gifts to be received; but said to them, "You are villains, and enemies to the SHAH, against whom, I know, you have appeared in arms, although you have been acquitted; how many murders have you been the immediate occasion of?" They pleaded their innocence; but confessed that nine of their people fell in the field of battle, and twenty-one had been executed. Their evidence being rejected, they were dismissed.

## C H A P. XLVII.

*Moral reflections. The author refuses to comply with the demands of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. He accompanies a caravan with money. Treachery of the rebels. Nature of the PERSIAN ink, paper, and seals.*

THUS were these infatuated people seeking to destroy each other: those bad principles which constituted them the instruments of tyranny, pressed them under the weight of their own iniquities. The history of the world will hardly furnish an instance of a nation plunged into such miseries as these, 'till their crimes had ripened them for vengeance. PERSIA, once the mistress of the eastern world, the center of oriental learning, arts, and politeness, the seat of many heroes and kings recorded in the most antient and sacred story; and but as yesterday confirmed in her conquest, and antient boundaries, and enriched with the spoils of INDIA, how low is she now fallen! into what distress is she not involved! But providence seems still to preserve the monarchy, as if it were yet destined for some great end.

Perjury

Perjury against the life of an innocent person, seems to be one of the greatest impieties; for beside the crime of murder, under the sanction of law; it wounds all law, human and divine, and roots up the foundation of society; but, alas! crimes of this deep dye are not unfrequent in countries, where government is supported on a very different plan; where reason is improved; where learning flourishes; where the purest religion is professed; and yet where the laws are not sufficient to restrain; so that **EXAMPLES** only of moral and religious life can check the growth of immorality.

The 4th of June I waited on the general, and represented to him the great inconveniency I suffered, by being delayed contrary to the king's intentions, as was plainly expressed in his decree, to which I referred him. He then told me in very sanguine terms, "I have orders to leave this place, and march to **АТТОК**; but I will not go till you are paid, though I sell my horses, and mules, or borrow money of my soldiers. I have lent 30,000 crowns to **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**, and he must engage his credit also to see you paid." The next day I went to **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**, to importune him for my money, and found him in company with the general; the latter entreated me to give a receipt for it, and in return **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN** desired me to take his obligation, payable in twelve or fifteen days; swearing by the king's head<sup>a</sup>, that he would not fail me; alledging that the money which should have been paid to me, was appropriated to the king's service, and therefore I must be obliged to wait some days longer. "I cannot go from hence," said the general, "without the receipt, the king will demand it of me, and if you will not give it, I will kill men till I get the money." I answered, "I hope no man will die on my account; but as I presume, Sir, that you know what belongs to your duty, give me leave to understand mine also. I cannot answer to my own conscience, nor to the merchants my principals, to give a receipt for the money in question, in exchange for any obligation whatsoever." So we parted abruptly.

In the afternoon **NASER AGA** made me a visit, and urged me in the warmest terms to accept of **MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN**'s obligation;

<sup>a</sup> This is the most sacred of oaths among the **PERSIANS**.

that it was impossible the KHAN should mean any thing but to PAY ME; and moreover that I was in HIS POWER to do with me as HE PLEASED; to which I replied: "I know that all things are in the power of GOD. "As to the rest, men who profess trade, must proceed according to the "rules of trade: it is not regular to give the receipt you desire; the "KHAN may be assured that I have a due respect for him, as I have for "you also; but if he was my own father I would act in the same manner, and if you, who are his messenger, were an angel from heaven, "how should I be persuaded that what is evidently wrong, is right?" The old man, who I believe thought I was in the right, looked stedfastly at me, and was silent. My interpreter was of opinion, that I did ill to refuse, and urged that I might obtain the recovery the sooner, otherwise the KHAN, induced by repentment, would probably delay payment the longer; but I had no dependence on the honour of any of them; and indeed what confidence can we have in men, whom the thought of damnation cannot intimidate, and who are every day perpetrating the most flagitious wickedness?

On the 6th, eight men were executed, and some elders of the town, upon their refusal to pay 10,000 crowns which were levied on them, were imprisoned: at the same time 8,000 crowns were demanded of the adjacent villagers. This being an UNLUCKY DAY, the general did not depart, as he intended. On the next, the KHANS finding they could make no impression on me, seemed to be reconciled to my refusal of giving my receipt in exchange for an obligation. I ever found it the best way in PERSIA, as it generally is in most other countries, to oppose with decency and resolution measures which have nothing to support them but military law.

On the 10th, I was visited by a person descended from one of the PERSIAN prophets, whose father had been much honoured by the SHAH, and permitted to sit in his presence. He had also enjoyed a considerable estate, which the son now inherited; but he declared, that it gave him so great trouble, and so little profit, that he had petitioned the SHAH to take it from him. In the evening I visited MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, to acquaint him, that I intended to go to KOURDIEMALLA, and convoy the  
money

money which I had received, on board captain WOODROOFE, in order to send it to GHILAN for the purchase of raw silk ; but for this purpose he must give me a company of at least twenty soldiers ; to which he consented, and at the same time, without any reserve, spoke to this effect : “ The  
 “ SHAH is at TAVRIS, from whence he has sent me orders to supply him  
 “ with 3000 head of cattle, to pay you 30,000 crowns, and also 50,000  
 “ crowns to his general at HAZAR-JERIB ; to whom I am also to send  
 “ 200 horses ; all which, except the payment of your money, are THINGS  
 “ IMPOSSIBLE. I am also ordered to kill ALL the persons concerned in  
 “ the rebellion ; if I do that, I must kill ALL the inhabitants of the pro-  
 “ vince ; for even the men whom I have made soldiers, and trusted as an  
 “ advanced guard against the TURKUMANS, have had their share in it.”  
 He then asked my interpreter if he could read and write PERSIC, and being answered in the affirmative, he said, “ then you understand the ex-  
 “ cellency of our religion beyond your own.” The interpreter answered, that he had yet found his own most conformable to truth, as it appeared to him.

On the 11th, I went to KOURDIEMALLA under a guard of five horse and ten foot-soldiers, taking with me seven bales of cloth, and nine bags of money, with other things to the value of 11,000 crowns ; observing the precaution, not to let any body know at what hour I intended to go out of the town, till I actually went. I know not, whether it was by accident, or design ; but my guard disappeared, and left us in a thick wood, three ENGLISH miles from the place of embarkation ; however, we got safely on board with the money after a day's journey, extremely fatigued with excessive heat.

The BALKHAN expedition, for which captain WOODROOFE was waiting, being yet undetermined : MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN had permitted me to send the ship to GHILAN, on condition that he should return immediately to ASTRABAD-bay. Having dispatched WOODROOFE, I went on shore the next day, but could not hear any news of my guard ; I therefore returned to ASTRABAD with my own servants. This day MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN published an order, that all persons who

had shops, should return to them, and follow their business; otherwise he would put them to death, and set their heads in his pyramid.

It was remarkable, that although the rebels of HAZAR-JERIB<sup>b</sup>, had, after their submission, treacherously killed the king's general, and about seventy of his men; yet they were not chastised with half the severity as the inhabitants of ASTRABAD; which I imputed to the little mercy of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN. He now desired, that I would send one of my people to be always present to receive money as it came in, alledging, that if any urgent demand was made on him from other quarters, he must be obliged to comply with it: at the same time he reproached his son the governor, that neither money nor provender for the king's use was brought in fast enough.

Captain WOODROOFE, who awed the pirates whilst he lay in ASTRABAD road, no sooner left it on the 13th, but several armed boats of the OGURTJOYS went on shore at KOLEBAWD, killed several men, and carried off their women and horses. On the 19th, being heartily tired of waiting, I went to the KHAN, to inform him that I would not stay in the city above fifteen days longer; in which time if he did not pay me the money, I should be obliged to make further applications to the king. He assured me, that in less than ten days it should be ready: adding, that EMIR KHAN was returning from TURKUMANIA with some of the rebel-chiefs, who were going to the camp to make their submissions; on the assurance that the king would do them no harm, and that all was going well.

The 22d, I received a letter from ALI KOULI KHAN<sup>c</sup>, the king's nephew, and governor of MESCHED, in answer to one I wrote to him, with regard to the payment for the pistols, and other curiosities, which Mr. ELTON had provided for him by express commission. But without any sense of HONOUR or GRATITUDE, this MIGHTY PRINCE objected to the things: alledging, that they were TOO GOOD for him, and returned them on Mr. ELTON's hands, though they were utterly unvendable. The foot-

<sup>b</sup> A district in the neighbouring mountains.

<sup>c</sup> The same who was afterwards king.

courier, whom I sent to MESCHED, poor and despicable as he was, did not escape without being robbed. This letter gave me an occasion of observing the nature of their writing and paper.

The PERSIANS make their paper of cotton and silk-rags, and after it is manufactured they set a gloss upon it with a smooth stone or shell; it is therefore soft and smooth, and as it is very liable to be torn or broken, they always roll it up. Their letters of correspondence are wrote on small slips of paper, generally in few words, and with great exactness; no interlineations or blots being ever suffered to appear; they are then made up in a roll, about six inches long, and a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink, which resembles our printers ink, but not so thick. It is composed of a mixture of galls, burnt rice, and gums, and answers the double purpose of ink and wax; as it serves not only for writing, but for subscribing with their seal; indeed many of the PERSIANS in high offices could NOT write. Their characters are rather drawn than written: they use pens made of reeds brought from the southern parts of PERSIA. In their rings they wear agats, which generally serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraved their name, and some verse from the KHORÂN.

## C H A P. XLVIII.

*PERSIAN pride with regard to rank. News concerning the ENGLISH fleet. The author leaves ASTRABAD, and is in danger from the OGURTJOY-pirates. Mr. ELTON embarks at MESCHEDEZAR. Manner of PERSIAN funerals. The melancholy circumstances of the EUROPEANS in GHILAN. Intrigues of the RUSSIAN consul.*

THE 23d, SARU KHAN, a general and relation of the king, arrived in ASTRABAD with a body of forces intended for BALKHAN; I went to pay my compliments to him in the palace where he had taken up his quarters: my visit was very short, for I observed that he had neither sense nor breeding, comparable to MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, who was much distinguished for both.

The next day in a visit I made this KHAN, his son the governor arose hastily from his seat, and retired: I soon understood from my interpreter, that I had ignorantly affronted him, by going higher up the room than he was seated, though I was on the opposite side. I could hardly avoid laughing at so ridiculous a ceremony, especially as I was his guest; but whether it was at his option, his father being present, to go as high up the room as he pleased, it seemed as little consistent with my own health as common regard to my own dignity, to sit near the door. The PERSIANS treat their superiors in rank in the most awful manner, hardly having any voice, or opinion, or thinking themselves obliged while in their presence, to acts of civility, even in their own houses. This is one specimen of the GENUINE GROWTH of arbitrary power, and a despotic invasion of the COMMON SENSE, as well as the COMMON LIBERTY of mankind, to which the more a foreigner submits, the meaner the PERSIANS will think of him.

The 27th, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN gave directions for the execution of one HAHDGEE MAHOMMED<sup>d</sup>, also an elder of KOORDIE-MALLA, and ordered his body to be thrown into the river KORGAN. This being a person of distinction, who had many women; they went about the woods near the river, beating their breasts in dreadful lamentations, cursing the author of his death, and calling for divine vengeance on the head of MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, nor did they spare NASEER AGA.

This day captain WOODROOFE arrived in 36 hours from LANGAROOD, though he had been ten days in his voyage thither. He brought us news, that the ENGLISH fleet in the MEDITERRANEAN had obtained a COMPLETE VICTORY near TOULON over the united squadrons of FRANCE and SPAIN. Alas! I must stifle the expression of what I then felt; for to the INDELIBLE REPROACH of the NAME of ENGLISH CONDUCT AND BRAVERY, it was but little more than a dream; and only exhibited a sad instance of a very capital mistake in not distinguishing the genius and tem-

<sup>d</sup> Not MYRZA MAHOMMED who had been pardoned.

per of men, to whom a command is given: and that pride and malice may exist in other breasts, besides those of PERSIANS, to make a sport of national honour and justice. Nothing created more amazement abroad than the conduct of that affair, except the nature of the punishment for the offence.

Though the intended expedition to BALKHAN remained in suspense; the king having ordered Mr. ELTON to take the command of all the ships; he was obliged to come to MESCHEDEZAR, where he fell dangerously ill. I was very much out of order myself; but, on receipt of an express from him, intreating me, in the strongest terms, to come to him immediately, I resolved to wait no longer in ASTRABAD.

The 29th, I took my leave of the governor MAHOMMED ZAMON BEG, who, I suppose, was wise enough to forget the innocent offence I had occasioned. His father, MAHOMMED HUSSEIN KHAN, was already departed for MAZANDERAN. The next day I set out from ASTRABAD, taking with me above 5000 crowns more in money, and left MATTHEUSE, my old ARMENIAN clerk, and two servants, to importune for the remainder due on the SHAH's decree. As I was in too weak a state of health myself to attend the money, and the country being now more quiet, I sent my interpreter, a servant, and five soldiers with it, and followed with one soldier and a servant. In the evening I got up with them, and embarked safely with the money. July the 1st, The wind being westerly we were detained; and the 2d, as it still continued in the same quarter, we kept at anchor. Seven of the OGURTJOY pirate-boats appeared in sight, having ten or twelve hands on board each boat, armed with spears, sabres, bows and arrows, and some fire-locks. Our force did not exceed thirteen men; however we were well prepared with arms and ammunition, and put ourselves in the best condition we could, expecting very little quarter if they had been hardy enough to board us: being in the disagreeable circumstance of having no wind, we were obliged to put a spring on our cable, in order to bring our guns to bear on them.

On the 3d, the boats appeared again, bearing down upon us from the east to the south-west point of the harbour, where they were wont to land,  
and

and pillage; but a breeze of wind happily springing up we weighed, and bore down upon them; they then made all the efforts they could with their sails and oars to get into shallow water out of our reach; but we came up with them very fast. I knew they were villains, and common enemies to mankind; but the remembrance of my written obligation in RUSSIA, not to interfere in any thing military, and a tenderness of spilling the blood of men untried and uncondemned, restrained me from any thing more than permitting our gunner to send two shots after them, to increase their terror of our great guns. The eagerness of our ENGLISH seamen would hardly submit to the restraint, nor did we cease from the pursuit without some expressions of impatience from them, which would have been deemed mutiny in a king's ship.

On the 4th, the wind was at west, with light breezes, and a strong current setting in. The next day we were extremely incommoded by the heat of the sun: the 6th, we reached FARABAD, and the next day came to anchor. On the 9th, we weighed and anchored again in MESCHEDAZAR road, saluting MAHOMMED KHAN and Mr. ELTON, with three guns: and the KHAN, from a battery which he had built, returned the compliment with the same number. I observed the currents on this coast set to the eastward. On the 10th I went on shore, and had the mortification to find Mr. ELTON in a very low state of health.

On the 11th, Mr. ELTON came on board with thirty poor wretches, who were to be employed in GHILAN as carpenters in the king's new ship-yard. In this road we found a PERSIAN and three RUSSIAN vessels; a corporal came from on board one of the latter, and complained heavily of their detention for the uncertain voyage of BALKHAN, and not less of their ignorance of the eastern coast, and the sickly condition of their crews; Mr. ELTON told him their ships would probably be soon relieved one way or other, and that he would serve them in any thing in his power.

For ten days we were mortified with contrary winds: in the interim one of the PERSIAN carpenters expired; his friends were very solicitous to lay his face towards the east, which were now leaving in our stern,

stern, the wind coming fair: the PERSIANS could hardly be prevailed on to touch the dead body, it being deemed a pollution, neither would they for a long time consent he should be thrown over-board, and least of all that any weight should be fixed to his body to sink him; so that he floated on the surface. The PERSIANS are generally interred the evening of the day in which they die, and washed before they are put into the ground. For this purpose there are reservoirs; but the poorest sort are commonly carried to the nearest pond. Before the interment the bodies are usually wound up in a cotton cloth, on which are stamped several parts of the KHORAN. Some of the relations attend the funeral, as likewise the MULLAH, or MULLAHS, according to the quality of the deceased, singing some part of the KHORAN.

The 23d, We came on shore to LANGAROOD, where I found that the king had at length determined to submit to the remonstrances of his captains, and decline the expedition to BALKHAN; ordering the provisions which he had amassed for that purpose to be sent to DERBEND. The channel which runs 6 ENGLISH miles from the sea to LANGAROOD, is bordered with reeds and marshy lands, which stunk to a degree that created great faintness; and the more so, as we were already sick, every one appearing to the other on the verge of eternity, though perhaps no man thought so of himself. We found all our friends at LANGAROOD and RESHD in the same circumstances, this summer having been extremely unwholesome: but it pleased GOD that we all survived it.

The ship which Mr. ELTON was building for the king, had now the appearance of being soon finished; but the difficulty was how to launch, or get her into the sea: she was on the side of a creek, hardly broader than the ship was long; she could not draw less than six feet, and in many places down the creek there was but four feet water; therefore they proposed to make a dam, and raise the water to assist her in going off, her lower works only being finished. The north-wind would thus raise the water considerably, though not without overflowing the adjacent marshes. Mr. ELTON was also alarmed with the fear of RUSSIAN pirates, whom he apprehended would attempt to burn his ship: he therefore  
made

made a boom cross the channel, and set a guard at it, proposing to build a stage on the morafs, and set a piece of cannon on it. These pirates had robbed several PERSIAN boats near BAKU; they had 30 men on board, and some swivil guns; and it was pretended, that several other boats had been brought off from the VOLGA and YAEIK, the crews of which were of the same fraternity.

The 2d of August, I left LANGAROOD, and arrived next day at RESHD, where the RUSSIAN consul BAKOONIN insisted there was a plague at CASHAN, and consequently that no manufactured goods of that country should be exported for RUSSIA. By the intercourse which the PERSIANS had with that city, it could not be known that any sickness prevailed more than usual in the fruit season. I concluded from hence, that the consul sought an expedient to give the better colour to his advices to the governor of ASTRACHAN, to impose a severe quarantain, with a view to prevent the ENGLISH vessels from returning again to PERSIA. I found also, by the contest there had been between the ministers of the court of GREAT BRITAIN and RUSSIA, with relation to Mr. ELTON's engagement with NADIR SHAH, that our trade was in no small disgrace in RUSSIA; and it looked probable that captain WOODROOFE would not be permitted to return to PERSIA with his ship.

Our voyage from ASTRABAD had taken up almost the whole month of July; and consequently it might be presumed that a great progress had been made in the recovery of the ballance due at ASTRABAD: therefore, instead of returning immediately to ASTRACHAN under these apprehensions, which proved to be too well grounded, I determined to send captain WOODROOFE to ASTRABAD for money. I found myself extremely disordered, as were all the EUROPEANS in RESHD, whose bodies, at different periods of their distemper, broke out into different kinds of pimples; Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER were afflicted with agues; but that did not prevent their politeness and friendship to me. The FRENCH missionaries also behaved with great civility.

On the 12th I returned to LANGAROOD, where I found Mr. ELTON in the same bad state of health as I left him, with a mind much perplexed.

plexed on account of his engagements to the SHAH, perceiving it would cost us no less than the ruin of that trade, which he had been so instrumental in opening. Though the authority with which I set out, had been greatly diminished by the jealousy and intrigues of some of the factors in St. PETERSBURG; yet I saw the necessity of being disengaged from Mr. ELTON in such a light, and was so desirous of finishing with him in an amicable manner, that I undertook, beside his ordinary commission, to make him an offer of a large sum, chargeable on the effects in his possession, on condition that he would deliver them to Mess. BROWN and company, to the end that we might have no further connection with him. My illness still continued, and indeed the damp musty rooms, the croaking of frogs, the biting of gnats, with a marshy pestilential air, and the concern I was under to see the trade involved in such insuperable difficulties, were enough to have distempered a mind, as well as body, of a much stronger texture than mine; but though these circumstances were added to my illness, the low manner in which I lived, created so little food for my dis temper, that I found myself in a much better state than any of my companions.

## C H A P. XLIX.

*Mr. ELTON quarrels with the author. Captain WOODROOFE returns from ASTRABAD with 9000 crowns. The author is kindly received at RESHD. The calamitous state of PERSIA.*

THE 16th of August I took my leave of Mr. ELTON in a friendly manner, and went to LAHIJAN for the recovery of my health. This place is about 8 miles distant from LANGAROOD: I was lodged in a large, airy house. LAHIJAN was conquered by SHAH ABAS the GREAT: it was formerly the metropolis of the province, and the seat of its king, and is now incomparably the most healthful place in that part of the province of GHILAN which is towards the sea: it is situated on an eminence, with a free air on every side, the mountains to the southward opening so as to cause a constant draught of wind, which moderates the heat of the summer.

In the reign of SHAH SHEFFIR, which was not many years after this place was annexed to the crown of PERSIA, the natives revolted, and one KARIB, a person born at LAHIJAN, was elected king of the province, in opposition to SHEFFIR. After a short and fruitless defence KARIB was taken prisoner, and carried to CASBIN, where he suffered a very remarkable death; for this SHAH, with his ordinary cruelty, and in derision of his captive, ordered iron horse-shoes to be nailed to his feet, alledging that as he had been used to the soft rich soil of GHILAN, he could not walk unshod on the harder earth of the country of CASBIN: after lingering some days in this torture, he was shot to death with arrows, the SHAH discharging the first, and his courtiers following his example.

Mr. ELTON's indisposition of body, and the offence he had taken against the conduct of his employers in EUROPE, for their submission to the RUSSIAN court, though it would have been vain and extravagant to have longer withheld that submission, now brought on his resentment against me. I appeared to him as a deputy for the traders in general; but as his friend also, I spoke my real sense of things with regard to the common interest. The imperious letter which I received from him, dated the day after I left him, was a plain indication of his having vindictive designs. He acknowledged to have taken off the mask with which he had been disguised, making himself blacker than I believe he really was; it was easy however to perceive his intentions were fixed upon the expedient of a quarrel. When men design to act a part which they know to be unwarrantable, it is a common trick to pretend that an injury has been done them, to save appearances in doing an injury. I was almost tempted to wish I had acted a part foreign to my disposition, from a transient opinion that in our commerce with some men, that conduct is warrantable which, towards others of a different stamp, deserves little better than the name of falsehood; but this thought soon recoiled upon me, and confirmed that sturdy satisfaction which arises from an equal and consistent conduct, however opposed to worldly advantages. Ignorance of the world is sometimes the happy occasion of our virtue: it often prevents insincerity at least, and supports that integrity of soul, which exists no longer than we speak the language

gauge of the heart. It is true, there are many incidents in life, in which some degree of dissimulation seems to be essential to the peace and tranquillity of it; and nothing can be more obvious than "if we follow truth too close, she will kick our teeth out:" therefore the great secret is, when, and in what degree dissimulation, if for want of language we may use this term, is necessary and consistent with the virtue of the mind. For want of this distinction we often lose the reverence due to truth, even in the first stages of our lives; and persons in the highest stations become the most exquisite proficient in the arts of dissimulation; such is the wretched state of mankind! Thus I had full leisure to moralize; for ELTON was inflexible.

Captain WOODDROOFE, whom I had dispatched the 8th instant to AS-TRABAD, returned the 21st, and I had the pleasure to learn, that he brought with him 9000 crowns, which completed, including the cloth recovered, 85 per cent. of the whole sum demanded. WOODDROOFE informed me, that SARU KHAN with his forces was incamped on the river KORGAN, to prevent the incursions of the TURKUMANS, whom no compact could hold within bounds: I also learned, that MATTHEUSE had narrowly escaped being robbed of the sum just mentioned, a thief having actually broke into his house in the night, and a whole gang were ready to be let in, if his cries had not disconcerted their measures; so that this recovery was singularly providential in all its parts.

The 27th, the FRENCH missionary, who professed physic, gave me a medicine, which he said was a sovereign specific in fevers; this proved to be only the Jesuits bark, but is not familiarly known in PERSIA, where he had lived for some years: this drug can no where be of greater use than in the province of GHILAN. Medicines among the PERSIANS are mostly compounds of herbs; but the quantity and taste such as would incline one to think, that they were designed for horses, rather than men. The most common disorders with which they are afflicted, are those in the eyes, and the venereal distemper: the first is supposed to be occasioned by the heat of the climate, and the excessive use of rice.

Being now restored to health, I applied myself to business : but, which ever way I turned, Mr. ELTON's engagement to the SHAH created insuperable difficulties to the establishment of our trade. Some of the factors in St. PETERSBURG, who had solicited me to accept their authority to act for them, now endeavoured to supplant me, from an apprehension that I intended to remain in PERSIA, and enjoy their imaginary profits : they mistook the matter extremely ; for I found little more to be expected in PERSIA than the evil effects of jealousy and sinister intrigues, except being exposed to the greater calamities of civil war, among a people departed from almost every moral virtue. The adventurers in LONDON were perplexed with contradictory advices from their different factors ; and, for want of proper information, not knowing whom to trust, aimed at one point, some of the factors in RUSSIA at another, and Mr. ELTON in PERSIA would receive laws from neither of them ; so that my task of mediator was very difficult.

I saw nothing could be done in PERSIA by any legal proceeding, and that Mr. ELTON was deaf to my remonstrances, of the folly and injustice, as well as the ill consequences that must attend his breaking with me : to make any fruitless compulsive efforts, I concluded would render the matter worse ; I therefore determined that the best way to avoid being in the wrong, was to shun being too much in the right. Men who mean well often fall into this fault ; a certain vanity of uprightness betrays them into an injudicious pursuit of it, by which they do real injuries to the community whose cause they espouse. If their goodness of heart is not supported by experience or strength of judgment, they are apt to forget there are more ways than one of doing many good actions ; and that it is our duty to consider, not only what is best in its own nature ; but also the most practicable means of performing the good we intend. So long as we can maintain our own integrity, we ought to accommodate ourselves to times, and to the circumstances of things : I do not mean that we should do evil with a view to the good that may come of it, any more than we should restrain the good, so as to produce evil as a natural consequence ;  
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but that we should temper a passionate concern for the cause of virtue, with a judicious consideration of the great end in view.

The 28th, Having informed Mr. BROWN of RESHD on what terms I was with Mr. ELTON; he sent me a very polite and obliging invitation to take up my lodgings in his house: this was the more acceptable, as I was entirely at a loss where to accommodate myself for the short time I proposed to stay in PERSIA; for I was now obliged to resign my present lodgings to MAHOMMED KHAN the admiral.

The interest of this KHAN was now on the decline at court, he had acted a base part in regard to Mr. ELTON, and the king's maritime affairs. Whether he suffered for this, or any other crime, or only for being rich, I know not; not long after I left PERSIA, his eyes were cut out; indeed almost every person of distinction, with whom I had any intercourse during my abode in that country, had at different times the same fate.

Having no good interpreter with me at LAHIJAN, nor many conveniences of life, I avoided the visits of the PERSIANS; however the CALENTAR attended by two couriers from the camp, came to see me: the king demanded of him 1000 crowns, no other reason being assigned for it, than his having served under the late governor, whom the king had caused to be put to death, though he was reputed a very just man; but it seemed as if justice was incompatible with some of NADIR's maxims of government.

The 1st of September I left LAHIJAN, and arrived the next day at RESHD, where Mr. BROWN and Mr. WILDER, the two ENGLISH factors, received me with great politeness and hospitality. The chief part of the conversation of that city turned upon the king's mulcts, exactions, and murders. I waited on the new governor of RESHD, who received me very kindly, and assured me that the SHAH had ordered him to treat the EUROPEANS with respect: on his being informed what had happened to me in PERSIA, and that curiosity had partly brought me thither, he said, "Alas! this is no time for such entertainment in this country." Hearing that I had a connection with Mr. ELTON, he observed, "I suppose you have orders and  
"inten-

“intentions to take all the effects belonging to the merchants out of his hands,” which I understood as an intimation of his opinion of ELTON’s dangerous situation. Here I enjoyed greater security, at least of my person, than I had for eight months before, having been in a continual warfare; but though the scene was changed, it was not altered much for the better; for I was now engaged in a severe contest, in which both my interest and honour were concerned.

Mr. ELTON, who had been kind to an extreme, and continually wrote me the tenderest letters of friendship, was become inexorably deaf to all overtures of accommodation. He had done me injustice in a double respect; first, by thinking I could be prevailed upon, by the considerations of friendship, to subscribe to things false, absurd, and impracticable; and then by fearing I should make use of my knowledge of his affairs in an unfriendly manner; whereas no treatment of his ever drew from me a single word of what he had said in the confidence of secrecy, neither before nor since his death. At this time I had the stronger motives to a reserved conduct, from the consideration that ELTON had power to do mischief, and distress the affairs of the merchants; but this reserve exposed me afterwards to the greater vexation. During the few days I was in RESHD, I employed myself in enquiries concerning the country, and its inhabitants, digesting and comparing my own observations with those of persons, whose experience was much greater.

## C H A P. L.

*A short account of the persons, genius, character, and diet of the modern PERSIANS. Of their hospitality, with some reflections on false amusements in EUROPE. Of the ornamental part of the dress of PERSIAN women, compared with some parts of EUROPEAN dress.*

THE modern PERSIANS are robust, warlike, and hardy, and are now all become soldiers: were their government once established, no nation could sooner recover itself from such miserable circumstances. They have  
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money enough<sup>a</sup>; their houses are easily rebuilt, and their land is fertile: these advantages would bring in foreigners, at least TARTARS and INDIANS, and with them the conveniencies of life, and at length restore their arts and manufactures.

They are naturally inclined to temperance; and with regard to diet, seem to be more in a state of nature than the EUROPEANS. By way of amusement they use opiates, but not near so much as the TURKS: they drink coffee in small quantities with the lees, also therbets, and an infusion of cinnamon with sugar. Their simplicity of life generally renders their domestic expence easy; though in this last particular travellers do not agree: I grant however that the PERSIANS understand very little of what we call prudence, and oeconomical government.

In their common discourses they often introduce moral sentences, and poetical narrations, extracted from their poets and other writers: it was formerly their constant custom to entertain their guests with favourite passages out of their poets. Reflexion and repetition are the only means of strengthening or supporting the memory: custom has made it a kind of pedantry in EUROPE to be frequent in the repetition of the wise sayings either of the antient or modern divines, philosophers, or poets; but if from the nature of the human mind we ever stand in need of a monitor, what office is more consistent than to render the wholesome rules of life familiar, by making them a part of our ordinary conversation. It might be wished, that this practice was introduced among EUROPEANS, rather than that barrenness of discourse we often find, or the irksome and pernicious amusement of cards.

Now I have mentioned a circumstance so interesting to the great world in EUROPE, I must acknowledge that cards, in the original use of them, are confessedly as innocent as any other instrument of diversion, to those who are at a loss for something more rational<sup>b</sup>; yet in the manner now in fashion, they cannot but dissipate the thoughts

<sup>a</sup> Speaking of the time subsequent to NADIR's death, and a few years afterwards.

<sup>b</sup> I have somewhere heard that cards were invented by a FRENCH courtier, to amuse one of the kings of that nation, who was remarkably weak.

in some, and enervate the mind in almost every one who is closely attached to them: they must be a great means of feeding those passions which corrode the heart, and warping the affections from their proper bias, oppose the establishment of virtue in the mind. We often see this verified, though few will confess it. Is it possible in the nature of the thing, that those who give a constant application to this entertainment, especially if they play high, can support a tranquility of mind? And, in proportion as the mind is disturbed, is it not disqualified for the essential duties of life? This matter is best understood by those very persons who play high, and consume their time in this polite idleness. The PERSIANS seem to fall into the contrary extreme; they delight in sitting still, and musing. I never observed any of them to walk in their apartments, as the EUROPEANS, and particularly the ENGLISH, are used to do. I remember to have heard of a TURK, who, being on board an ENGLISH man of war, enquired very seriously if the people were troubled with an evil spirit, because, says he, "they are never at rest?"

The PERSIANS are polite, but extravagantly hyperbolical in their compliments: this indeed is peculiar to the eastern nations; and the scripture, which partakes so much of that stile, is known to be derived from that quarter. The PERSIANS were celebrated for a particular genius to poetry; but war, which has destroyed their morals and learning, seems also to have damped their poetic fire; though they have still many traces of that fertility and strength of imagination, for which in past times they were deservedly famous. The antient PERSIANS are recorded to have taught their children a most exact reverence for truth; but the present generation are as notorious for falsehood: they poison with a sweet-meat, in always saying what is pleasing, without regarding the truth. In their dispositions they are chearful, but rather inclined to seriousness than loud mirth: in this they are not so much the FRENCH OF ASIA, as in their politeness and civility to strangers. Hospitality is a part of their religion; on occasions of the least intercourse, men of any distinction invite strangers, as well as their friends to their table; and it is remarkable how they pride themselves in other testimonies of respect, which have been occasionally mentioned in this work.

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I did not observe that they are vindictive; yet if their kindness to their best friends, happens to be turned by any fortune of war into enmity, they often become insensible: this seems to be more owing to a custom of cruelty, than a revengeful temper. On the other hand, there are not many instances of the placable disposition, which the CHRISTIAN religion so strongly recommends: in theory however they are friends to this virtue, and they apparently exceed the CHRISTIANS in the duty of resignation.

With regard to their persons and dress, the men in most parts of the country shave their heads very close; the young ones have often a lock on each temple, which hangs pendant, and serves as an ornament to their faces, somewhat in the manner of EUROPEAN beaux some years since. Their cheeks are shaved, but the beard on the chin reaches up to their temples: the men for the most part are tall, and of good shapes, their complexions swarthy, particularly in the southern parts, and their eyes and hair black. Most of them have caps of cloth, which rise ten or twelve inches, and terminate on the top in four corners: they have a shorter cap for summer, faced with grey BOKHARIAN lambskins; their ears, which are very large, are always left bare, and generally hang down, in consequence of the weight of the caps resting on them, and many are proud to shew that their ears are not cut off<sup>c</sup>. Crimson is a colour they much affect in their caps, as well as in their outward garments; and it makes a grand appearance: deep blue, which one seldom sees worn, except in coarse cloths, is their mourning colour. The better sort of people wear a sash of KHERMANIA wool, wrapped about their heads as turbands; some of these are so exceeding fine as to cost 100 crowns<sup>d</sup>, and the common price for such as are good is 8 or 10 crowns: their heads are thus kept very warm, and the more as they seldom pull off their caps, but wear them even in the presence of their king.

The outward garment of the common sort of people, is a slight cotton: in general they wear two or three light vestments, which reach only to their knees; so that their dress gives them a great advantage over the TURKS, who wear long effeminate robes. Besides their cloth garments

<sup>c</sup> Many were in these circumstances in NADIR's time.

<sup>d</sup> 25 l.

of the ordinary sort, which are much esteemed, some have them lined with furs, as ermins, squirrels, or sables, which are worn for warmth, and very often for state also; for it is common to see a great man sit in his sable-coat in the height of summer: but it must be observed that these coats reach no farther than the waist; thus demonstrating a judicious distinction not to load themselves with a superfluous weight of cloaths. Silk is worn in summer by men of fashion, especially for under-garments; but these as well as their cotton and woollen under-garments are quilted, which renders them very warm without being heavy. Under the sash round the waist they carry a long pointed knife in a case of wood, which is mounted with gold or silver. Their shirts, for the most part, are made of checkered silk and cotton: these have neither wrist-bands nor collars, for they always go bare-necked. The sleeves of their upper garment reaches down to their fingers: they sometimes wear cloth-stockings, which set loose like boots; but for the most part they use only socks of wool, which reach over the ankles. They wear slippers like women's shoes without quarters; these are of shagreen made with the skin of horses rumps, which are prepared hard and rough like a seal's skin: the heels being high, they are calculated to carry one out of the dirt, but are extremely uneasy to those who are not accustomed to them. Their drawers, or rather trowsers are more convenient than breeches in a hot country, being without any tight ligaments: for this reason their cloathing in general seems to be more conducive to health and strength than that of EUROPEANS: the sash round the waist may however keep their loins too warm; but girding up the loins is indeed a part of dress the most antient we read of. Their writers carry their ink and pens about them in a case which they put under their sash, or in their pocket under their arm.

The simplicity of their taste deserves commendation: a PERSIAN KHAN once questioned me closely upon the sleeve of my coat, desiring to know what I intended by that bit of cloth hanging from my arm? I of course told him, that in EUROPE we considered it as an ornament. I could not help reflecting however on the superfluous and inconvenient part of dress, which the polite nations of EUROPE have introduced, in defiance of natu-  
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ral taste, and the consideration of health and convenience. Externals are always most apt to affect the mind, and where we suffer ourselves to follow implicitly him who, for his private convenience, or to gratify his humour, continually makes alterations in our manner of cloathing, it must engage too great a share of the attention, at least of the youthful part of a nation, and create a dangerous expence; nor can we be ever sure of retaining that which in all respects is found elegant, ornamental, and convenient, if we happen to stumble on it. The ASIATICS seem best to understand this matter, and to act most agreeably to reason. We must however acknowledge, that the variety of which the politer nations of EUROPE are so fond, serves to exercise invention, improve arts, and create a circulation of money; but still it tends to the ruin of states, when the inclination is carried to an excess, and beyond what private incomes will bear, after all essential duties regarding government, and charity, are complied with. But in a comparison of the ORIENTAL and EUROPEAN dress, there is not any thing in the latter half so absurd and ridiculous as that part of the female furniture called a HOOP. If the PERSIAN, who was so much surprized at the sleeve of my coat, which was in no extreme of the fashion, had seen this whalebone-machine, he would certainly ask, if the woman was to be sewn up in it with a wild cat, as they sometimes use bags when they torture females. Tell him, that it is designed to be worn about her waist, and he would conclude it was a punishment for some act of incontinence; but never would a man, in his right mind, conceive it to be intended as an ornament; and that the greater space a woman occupies, the greater her quality, the more important her appearance, and as some imagine, the more exquisite her charms.

And since the resentment of a custom so injurious to health and convenience, as well as true taste, has drawn me thus far; I cannot help observing very seriously, that as the persons, and external ornaments of women are so much the attention of men, it is not surprizing that they should make use of their proper strength, and improve their own advantages; but I apprehend there are very few sensible women, and yet fewer men, who consider this romantic machine as ornamental. Custom is in-

deed a tyrant over both sexes, and the pride of imaginary embellishments almost as strong a passion with the youthful part of the gay world, as even the love of life. All nations seem to agree, that rich manufactories, silver, or gold, or precious stones, or what is just the same, something in imitation of them are ornamental. It is also confessed, that the more immediate seat of the graces is the face, and the women of all countries apply their skill to the improvement of it; preserving at the same time those vestures which they think add a lustre to their natural advantages. How can EUROPEANS laugh at some particular parts of the dress of remote nations, when perhaps none of them wear any thing so ridiculous as a large hoop? Besides, though custom may cause any thing to pass for modest, it cannot alter the nature of climates, nor prevent those distempers which arise from cold; neither will the streets grow broader, or houses, churches, or theatres extend their walls to keep pace with this romantic extension of habilliment.

The dress of the women in PERSIA is simple, differing from the men rather for the distinction of sexes, than by affecting any form shocking to nature: they adorn their arms with bracelets after the manner of some EUROPEANS, and their heads with jewels of several kinds: one of these is composed of a light gold chain-work, set with small pearls, with a thin gold plate pendant, about the bigness of a crown-piece, on which is impressed an ARABIAN prayer: this is fixed to the hair at the upper part of the temple, and hangs upon the cheek below the ear. They have large ear-rings, and some are said to wear gold rings set with pearls in their nose, which is incomparably the worst taste they have; the poorer sort wear the same thing in baser metals: their hair hangs in tresses; their shirts, as well as the men's, are of a thin manufacture of silk and cotton; but these are open at the breast in the manner of men's shirts in EUROPE, whilst the men's are supported on the left shoulders by a small button; the women also wear drawers and slippers as the men.

The PERSIANS observe an outward decency in their cloathing; their very religion seems to exact it of them, and the simplicity of their customs contributes to the same end. They are neat in their houses; and even the meanest

meanest sort are usually very clean in their cloaths, which have seldom any rent ; but if it was not for their repeated bathings, the want of changing their shirts would render their persons indelicate.

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## C H A P. LI.

*The nature of the military, civil, and ecclesiastical government of the PERSIANS under NADIR SHAH. Some account also of their cruelty, division of time, language, and opinion of EUROPEANS. Of their religion, and their manner of praying ; with remarks on the false reserve of CHRISTIANS.*

THE PERSIANS, by their neglect of moral duties, have prepared the way for that ruin in which they are involved ; and it seems as if providence, by suffering the usurpation of NADIR, had permitted them to fill up the measure of their iniquities.

The government of PERSIA is monarchical, and in every branch of it strictly despotic. The favour of the PRINCE, and of those on whom he devolves his authority, is essential to the security of foreign merchants ; and this may be best preserved by proper and timely presents, by a good appearance, and a resolute discreet support of their own dignity. The PERSIANS are not unskilled in the laws of justice and humanity ; but as war has been, for many years, their only study, and a fondness for outward shew their predominant passion, these laws are very little regarded when they interfere with their inclinations : hence a good horse, a silver-mounted bridle, and a girl, will generally induce a PERSIAN to violate justice, and even to commit that for which he is morally certain of death.

The camp and court in NADIR's time were the same ; and the ecclesiastical, as well as civil and military officers always attended. The chief administrators of the law were the MULLAH-BASHI, and the NAIB-SÆDAR, or NÆVAB, who are judges in ecclesiastical and civil concerns. The KAZIÆSKAR is judge of the army, and the SHEICHULISLAM is re-  
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puted of equal rank with him. The DEFHERCHANE<sup>a</sup> receives all records, decrees and public accounts, and decides in all affairs relating to the political government. The principal officers of this court are the SUPERINTENDANT and SECRETARY: The MUSTAFI MIEMALEK<sup>b</sup> acts with them, and has MUSTAFIS under him for the care of the several divisions. These agents of the crown make their court, and find most profit and security in proposing means of oppressing the people by heavy exactions.

The highest ecclesiastic in towns is judge, and tries civil causes under the governor, who generally refers the parties to him; and upon the receipt of his verdict the governor gives a final judgment. But military people seldom have their cause tried by any but the latter. These governors are often as despotic as sovereign princes; and though they are accountable for all their actions, and have often their ears cut off, their noses slit, and are severely beaten on their back, bastinadoed on their feet till their nails come off, and not unfrequently strangled, yet they seldom abstain from acts of oppression.

The BEGLER-BEGS<sup>c</sup> have the power of life and death, as have also those SARDARES<sup>d</sup>, who are on the frontiers. In NADIR's reign there were only three BEGLER-BEGS, one in KHORASAN, the other in DERBEND, and the last in SHIRASS, all of them as cruel as they were powerful. Those in high office make use of the most extraordinary and unaccountable methods of oppression. There was a remarkable instance of this in NADIR's brother, IBRAHIM KHAN, who, when governor of TAVRIS, having a lame mule, asked his groom what he might sell her for? The groom, suspecting his design, and knowing his avarice, answered 2000 crowns. "Oh!" says he, "more a great deal." At length the price was fixed at 10,000; and the groom being armed with authority, demanded of every citizen and villager a certain sum for the mule, in such terms as plainly shewed that a sum was to be levied on them. Some, to avoid being beaten, paid him 20, 30, 40, or 50 crowns, till at last he came home with

<sup>a</sup> Chancery.  
rank of officer in power.

<sup>b</sup> General over-seer of the empire.  
<sup>d</sup> Generals.

<sup>c</sup> Lord of lords, the highest

the 10,000; and after all he obliged a man to take the mule in good earnest for 120 crowns, which is the price of a small one free from blemish.

In how great a degree cruelty reigned in PERSIA in NADIR's time, may be judged from the choice which he made of his representatives, and from their copying him so exactly, though with less judgment. I was told, that in the spring 1741, a person named KALIB KHAN, from being a broker of silk, returned from the camp to RESHD, dignified with the title of admiral of the CASPIAN sea. This elevation so intoxicated him, that thinking himself neglected in point of ceremony, he instantly ordered the chief of the ARMENIAN merchants to be called into his presence, caused one of them to be put to death, and threatened that all the ARMENIANS and GEORGIANS should suffer the same fate, if they did not bring to him all the arms that were to be found in the caravanserais of RESHD; keeping three of them as hostages till he extorted handsome presents, and large promises from them. He was so offended that the RUSSIAN consul had not shewn him the respect of waiting on him in person before his entrance into the town, that when the consul's interpreter came to compliment him in his master's name, he bastinadoed him, spoke disrespectfully of the EMPRESS, and not stopping here, put to death an interpreter belonging to the resident of that nation, seized a RUSSIAN ship, and, by threats and ill treatment, obliged the crew to embrace MAHOMMEDANISM. On EASTER-DAY he laid siege to the consul's house, and fired 250 shots on it; but at length being opposed by the people of the town, he was obliged to withdraw his artillery.

In consequence of the complaints made to NADIR, KALIB KHAN was called to the camp, and treated with great severity; the crimes alledged against him were various, and many of them concerned the SHAH himself; but I never heard there was any particular respect paid to the RUSSIANS in the punishment inflicted on him. Such cruel exactions and monstrous proceedings have frequently stirred up the people to rebellion; but the want of secrecy in their counsels, and of mutual confidence, ever rendered

dered their attempts inferior to the sagacity and resolution of NADIR, till they took the resolution of killing him in his own tent.

As to the religion in PERSIA, the TURKS and PERSIANS equally acknowledge the KHORAN as first promulged, to be the great law of their prophet MAHOMMED; but they trace their ecclesiastical divisions, and inveterate animosities as high as his immediate successor. ALI was MAHOMMED's brother's son, and married to FATIMA, the daughter of that false prophet. From this the PERSIANS naturally infer his right to the succession, which was notwithstanding invaded by his uncles ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, the brothers of MAHOMMED, whose usurpation, both as kings and prophets, is approved of by the TURKS. At length ALI succeeded, and the dispute might have been lost in oblivion, had he made no difference in the KHORAN: yet this produced no extraordinary effects till the 14th century, when SHEFFIE, a man of an exemplary life, who pretended a regular descent from ALI, began to teach and expound the MAHOMMEDAN law, and the doctrine of ALI's followers, in preference to the TURKISH doctors of divinity; this revived the remembrance of the injury done ALI by his uncles, whom the PERSIANS began to curse in their public prayers: they also changed the form of the MAHOMMEDAN creed, by giving ALI the title of THE FRIEND OF GOD. These two sects being divided, those who maintained the succession of ABUBEKER, OMAR, and OSMAN, called themselves SUNNIS, whilst the followers of ALI took the name of SCHIAS.

Experience has proved that it is next to impossible to keep mankind steady to any form of worship, even where they profess the same faith in essentials; and if this is the case where religion is founded in truth, as in that of CHRIST; it is no wonder that so absurd a doctrine as MAHOMMEDANISM, professed by so many millions of people, spread over such a vast tract of country, should create divisions with regard to ceremonials, and the construction of texts, in themselves inexplicable; nor is it strange that this should produce national and irreconcilable hatred. It must further be observed, that their morals and true notions of life having, in a great measure, given place to a martial genius and military shew, it is easy  
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to conceive the cause of the long and bloody wars which have been carried on between the neighbouring states of PERSIA and TURKEY. It cannot here be improper to mention the method taken by SHAH ABAS to make a difference in opinion instrumental to the peace and security of his government. This prince, finding in his people a great propensity to rebellion, gave ALI two names, and then artfully insinuated, that one ought to be revered in preference to the other; thus he promoted such a dissention among them as brought both parties the more easily to make him umpire, and submit to his government.

The PERSIANS believe the MOSAIC to have been the true religion before CHRIST, whom also they acknowledge to be a true prophet, and teacher sent from GOD; but that the religion he taught was contained in a book which, at MAHOMMED'S coming, was taken by the angel GABRIEL into heaven, and the KHORAN brought down in it's stead; this however they do not attempt to prove. They say also, that JESUS CHRIST did not die upon the cross; but that another person was miraculously brought there in his place; thus confessing the truth of our SAVIOUR'S mission, but confounding it with absurd fables.

The common people pray at break of day, noon, and sun-set; but the HAHNGEES pray at these times, and also in the afternoon, and at night. The MULLAH, when he goes to prayers, mounts a turret appointed for that purpose, which over-tops the houses, from whence at day-break, mid-day, and evening, he invokes the supreme being, by saying; "O GOD, there is but one GOD; MAHOMMED is his prophet, and ALI his friend." After repeating these words three times, he makes a prayer to this effect; "Glory be to the sovereign of the universe, and to the judge of the last day; we glorify thee; we beseech thee to assist us in our necessities, to lead us in thy ways, and in the paths of righteousness, and to prevent our falling into the snares of perdition." I never observed that the PERSIANS have any marks of that false modesty which prevails among CHRISTIANS of the best sort, who, to avoid the imputation of affectation, or hypocrisy, are as jealous to be seen on their knees, as afraid to commit any criminal action. If a bold masculine piety, and

a sincere awful sense of the supreme being are very consistent things, this excuse of modesty must be owing to an error in education. The reservedness of some CHRISTIANS is certainly carried to a great excess: I have known persons pious before marriage, confessedly negligent in their devotion afterwards, the prejudices of education being such as that neither party chose to be seen on their knees; and we all know that any neglect may grow into a habit. Not so does the incomparable MILTON paint our first parents; not so does nature nor reason dictate; surely this is not what our SAVIOUR meant by admonishing us to retire to the closet; and is diametrically opposite to what may be inferred from that passage of scripture, that the unbelieving party in marriage is saved by the believer. Such an excess of reserve, if such is common, must be injurious to religion, and highly destructive of the advantages derived to mankind by the example of piety, particularly in the matrimonial state.

The PERSIANS seem to be under the influence of a certain degree of enthusiasm, without which devotion in some men is but a languid office: their imaginations are warm, and it is probable they receive no common help from thence. But here it may be asked, whether any degree of passionate warmth is warrantable in devotion? Whether it is effectual, is also a point about which CHRISTIAN divines seem to differ in their sentiments. If passion is essential to the make and composition of man; if experience evinces, that hardly any of our actions are devoid of passion; if the great art of human life is not to eradicate the passions, but to adopt the proper objects of them; if mankind cannot think so abstractedly as a pure effort of unmixed reason implies; I presume it follows, that SOME DEGREE of passion is warrantable in devotion; that degree will depend on the different turn of men's minds, and we may leave the great object of our devotion to determine the rest. If GOD is the common parent and universal friend of mankind, we must be affected towards him, with all the energy of the soul, which cannot be exerted without the assistance of our passions: and it ought to be remembered, that towards different objects the same passions affect us differently. We must learn to think consistently of the supreme being, but leave nature to herself with regard to the manner

manner of the operation of those passions, and not refine the thing away. Further, if the great object of all the powers and faculties of the soul is GOD; if hope, and fear, and love, as passions, belong to any thing more than mere sensitive life, the exercise of them is due to the great author of nature, and consequently ought to be employed in our addresses to him; for these, by their happy mixture, under the influence and guidance of reason, constitute that passionate warmth which, I presume, is not only warrantable, but in many minds essential. And can it with any consistency be thought, that our SAVIOUR'S prayer in HIS PASSION, as properly called, was devoid of the passion we are now speaking of; if it was not, it will follow, that in proportion to the earnestness of our petitions to heaven, there will be a mixture of passion, though reason may at the same time be supported in its full strength.

To return to the PERSIAN manner of devotion: after washing themselves, and combing their beards, they often count beads on a string as is the custom of some CHRISTIANS, and probably learnt of the MAHOMMEDANS. At certain parts of their prayer they stand, then kneel, and then prostrating themselves on the earth, set their foreheads on a bit of clay, about the size of a crown-piece, supposed to be brought from MECCA, and consequently to have a CHARM. They always carry it about them, tied to the upper part of their arm. They, as well as the CHRISTIANS, make their prayers long, in contradiction to the experience of mankind, how laborious a task it is to keep all the faculties of the soul awake for a short interval. "Let thy words be few," is an admonition well suited to the weakness of human nature; though the observance of it may argue the strength of the understanding. It is a shrewd remark, that there is a great difference between praying, and saying of prayers; and that we ought not to expect that GOD will attend to our prayers, if we do not attend to them ourselves. Besides, if a life spent in the fear of GOD, and obedience to his laws, is one continued prayer to him; will he require a multiplicity of words? Will he demand a longer attention than the mind is capable of, or the duties of life will permit? I do not mean by this remark, to lend any assistance in countenancing the indolence and impiety

which reigns so much among some CHRISTIANS, but to recommend an awful approach of the deity; and in our private addresses to him, to spend as much time in preparing the mind, as in the address itself, and not destroy the dignity; and, as we may fear, the efficacy of the duty, by a carelefs and abrupt intrusion into the more immediate presence of the awful majesty of heaven.

The MAHOMMEDANS having certain stated hours for prayer, are punctual in the observance of this duty, and, to all appearance, perform it with more attention than the CHRISTIANS generally do: and though the PERSIANS are become so extremely immoral, yet they give one proof of religion vastly superior to the CHRISTIANS: for I never could observe, that they mentioned the name of the supreme being, except upon solemn occasions, or at least in a respectful manner.

The PERSIANS have some of the JEWISH rites among them; and also this peculiarity, that when they pray, they never permit the image of any sensible object to be before them; nor is it permitted to pray with any thing of gold about them, as if it was esteemed an object of idolatry. They invoke the intercession of the departed souls of some of their prophets and pious men.

As to superstition, I have already given numerous instances how inclined the PERSIANS are to it: A MAHOMMEDAN is offended if a person applies to any mean use a written paper, lest it should contain the name of the supreme being. This may plead in its excuse that reverence which all mankind owe to the deity; but for their other superstitions, they are for the most part much less consistent: as for instance, a MAHOMMEDAN, strictly speaking, is not only defiled by the touch of any thing belonging to a hog, but even, they say, by a shoe, when it is made by an end where a hog's bristle has been used.

The MAHOMMEDANS have numerous sectaries, as well as the CHRISTIANS. NADIR was no bigot, nor in the least given to superstition: on the contrary, he exposed the blunders of their favourite prophet ALI, and even of MAHOMMED, and the fallacies of many popular opinions, of which I shall have occasion to mention more hereafter.

The

The external obligations of justice and charity are oftentimes overlooked among the MAHOMMEDANS, as well as among people of a better religion : they have found out the art of cheating their own souls, by endeavouring to reconcile religion and oppression. Extortion is forbidden by the MAHOMMEDAN law ; but suppose a necessitous person wants 20 crowns for 2 or 3 months only ; there are many instances of requiring a quarter of a batman of silk, which, at the common value, is 4 crowns. The obligation is made thus : Having lent such a person so much, I buy of him such a thing, for which I am to pay so much. Thus they reconcile what would otherwise be esteemed a gross violation of their law.

The PERSIANS have solar and lunar years, by which they regulate their different concerns. The new years day <sup>c</sup> of their solar year is on the tenth of March ; but their moveable feasts and fasts depend on the lunar year. They have two great fasts, which, they say, were commanded by GOD, who gave MAHOMMED orders to institute them for the expiation of their sins : in this time they eat nothing in the day, but at night they make two or three meals of the same kind of food as usual. As to the other divisions of time, their weeks are the same as ours, and their days consist of 24 hours, which they reckon in the same manner as the ITALIANS.

The TURKISH language is the most common in PERSIA ; it prevails on the southern coast of the CASPIAN, as well as in those provinces which were formerly conquered by the TURKS, as SHIRVAN and ADERBEITZAN ; but the illiterate people speak a barbarous mixture ; and I observed a different dialect in GHILAN and MAZANDERAN : the pure PERSIC is little known but in the southern parts, on the coast of the PERSIAN gulph, and the confines of ARABIA ; but particularly in ISFAHAN. In matters of learning they use the ARABIAN language, in which is deposited the greatest part of that knowledge for which the PERSIANS were once distinguished : and the politer people are fond of ARABIAN words, which renders their discourse the less intelligible to men of inferior rank. Tho

<sup>c</sup> Which they call NEVRUZ.

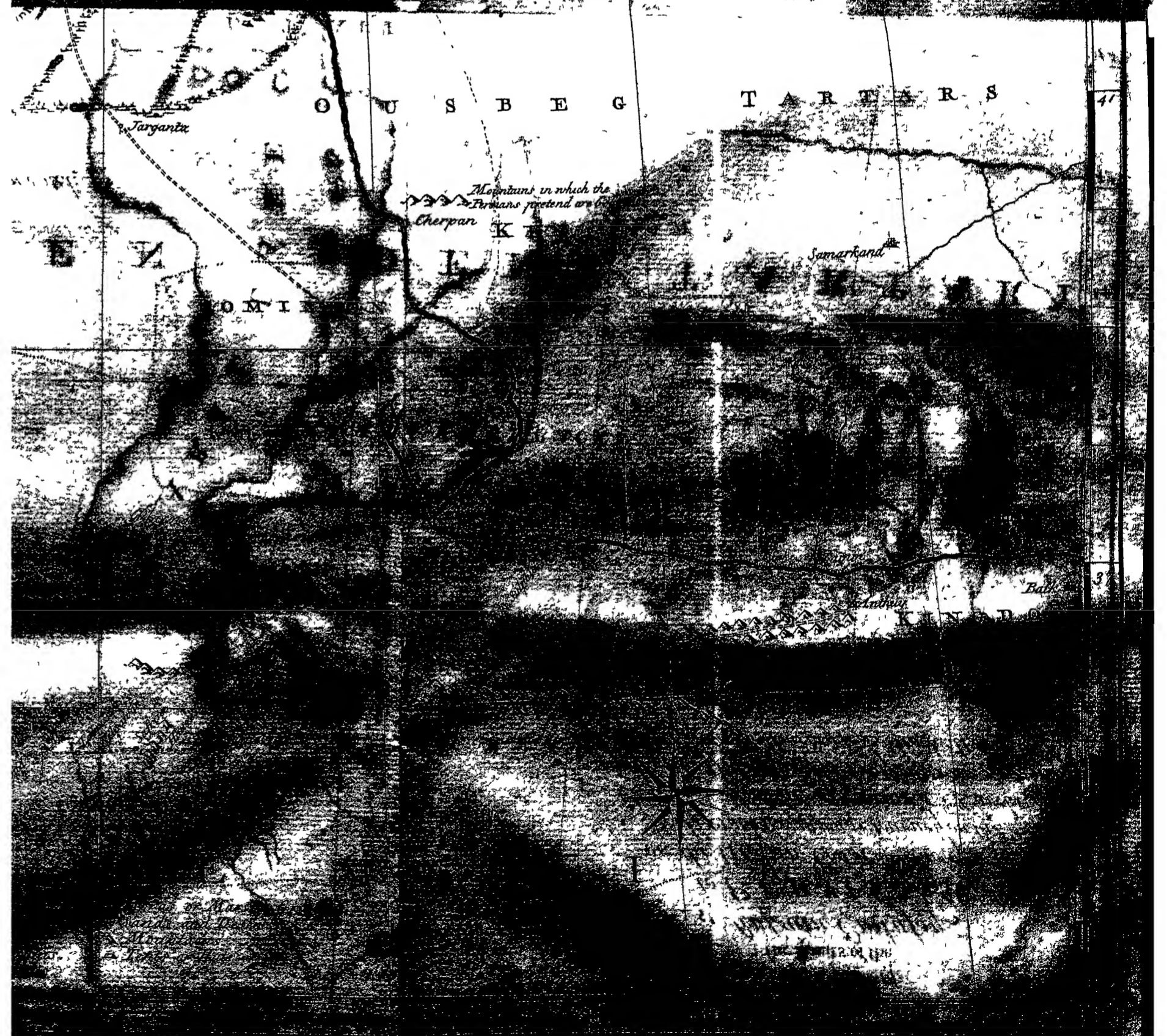
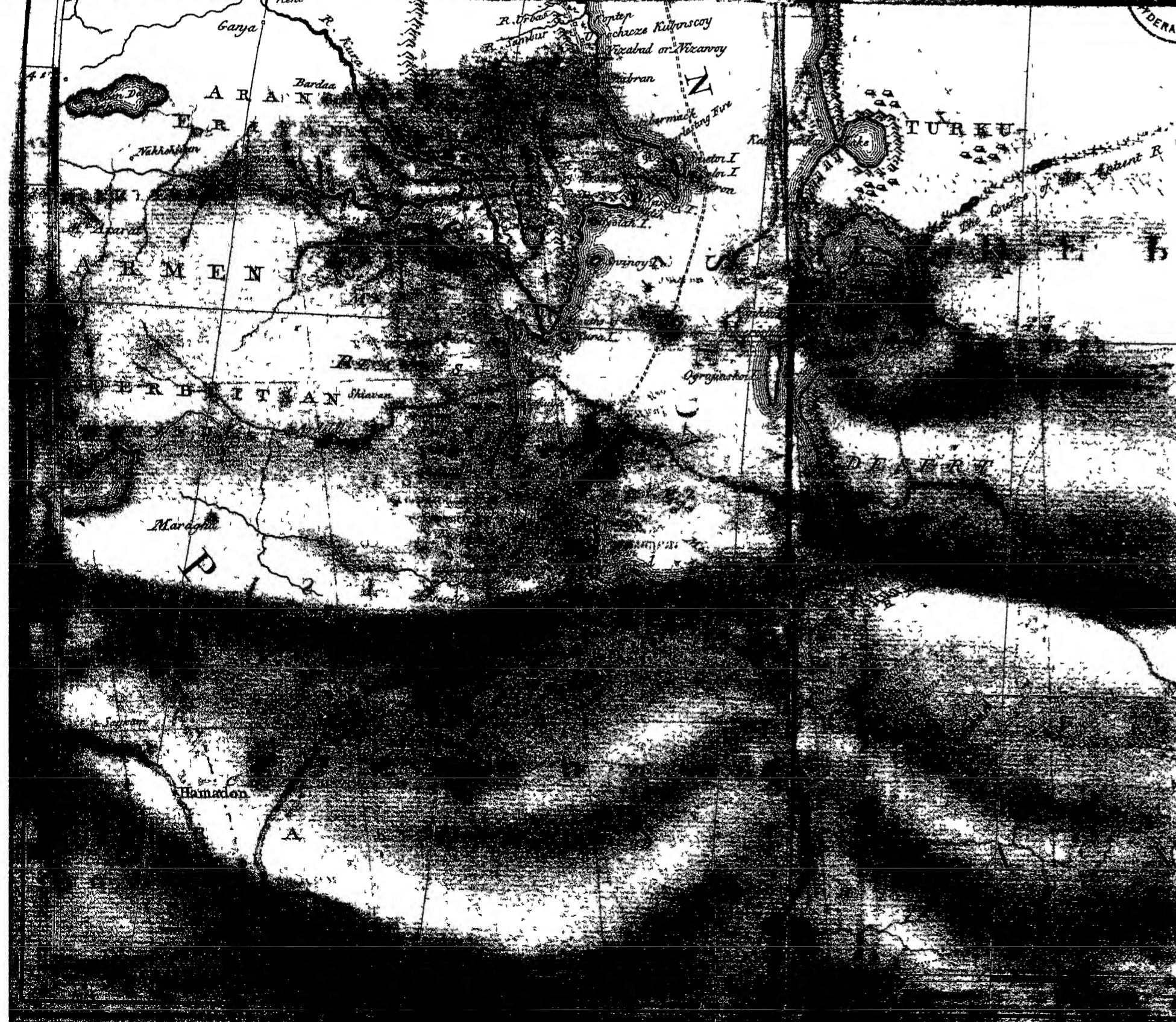
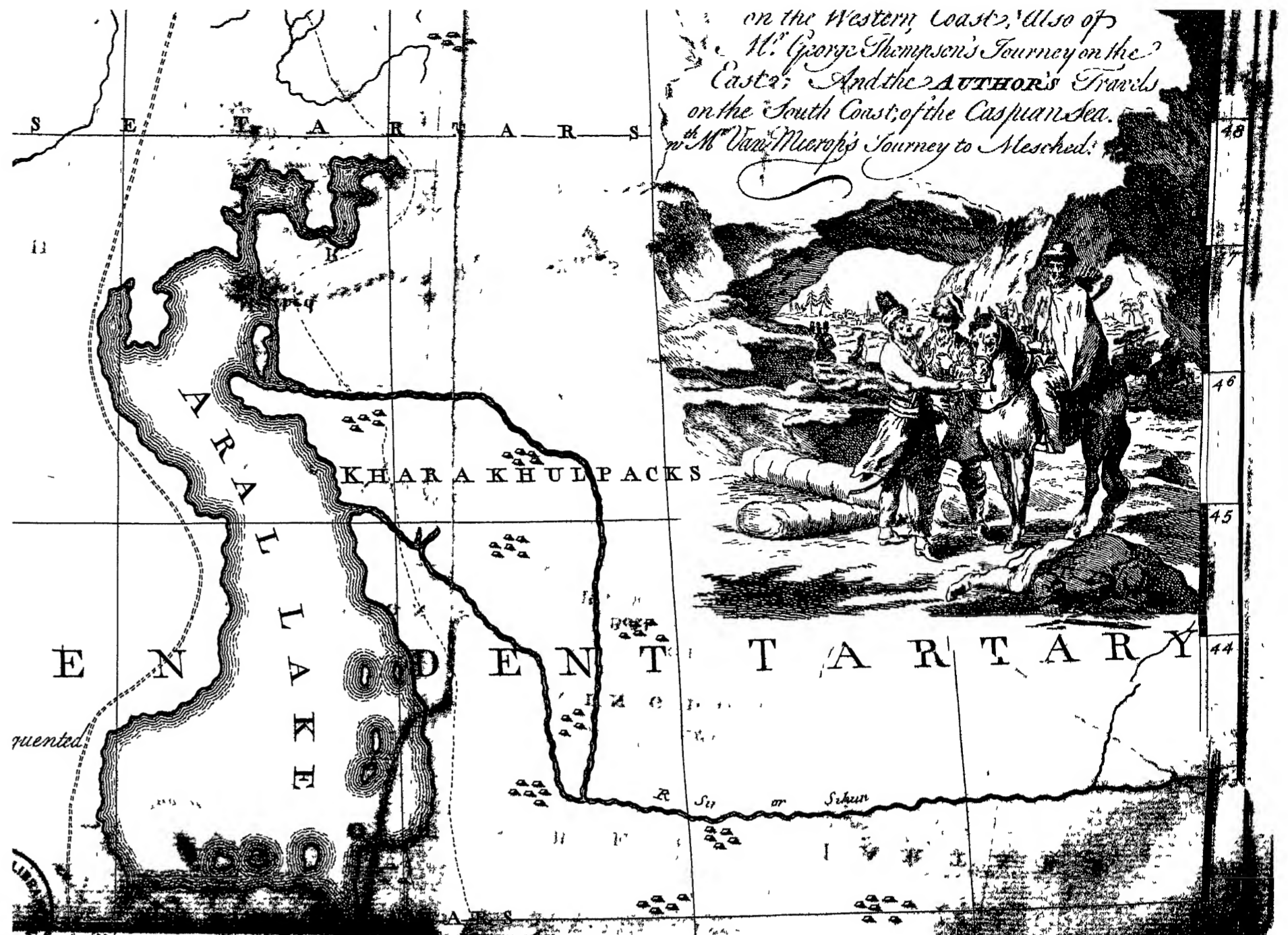
learned languages, familiar to EUROPEANS, are not known amongst them. As time seems to have made no change in the customs of ASIA, but the same manners remain as we read of two thousand years ago, so the language, particularly of the PERSIANS, has the same idiom and sublimity of expression.

They write as the HEBREWS, from the right to the left; and often range their lines in an arbitrary manner; so that upon one leaf of paper they sometimes write in ten different directions, and this only to shew the writers ability in observing the proportion of words and lines in each.

The want of curiosity, even in some of their people of distinction, is very remarkable: it is true, the greatest part of these are of mean parentage and education, and are fallen very low in point of knowledge, though they have good natural parts: this is indeed the less surprizing, as reading, the first step to knowledge, of late years has been as little taught to those bred to arms, as to the vulgar; we may say, it is more peculiar to the MULLAHS. They also fall into a great absurdity in their manner of instructing; I have observed their boys reading lessons out of the KHORAN in ARABIC, which they do not understand; and, to add to this farce, as they fit, they make a motion with their head and body, alledging that this helps study: thus does affectation supply the place of real learning. They acknowledge that the EUROPEANS have two eyes, and themselves but one; or, in other words, that we have knowledge, and an universal skill in arts and sciences, to many of which they are entire strangers; and, if I mistake not, their present method of education is not likely to remove this evil.

Thus the revolutions of time, and the changes to which human affairs are subject, in consequence of men's iniquity, have involved those nations in ignorance, who once enjoyed all the advantages which could grace and adorn human nature, and were distinguished as patterns of learning and politeness.





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P A R T III.  
A T T E M P T S

Made to open a TRADE to

K H I E V A and B O K H A R A  
I N M D C C X L.

W I T H A

J O U R N E Y along the western coast of the C A S P I A N  
in 1746.

C H A P. LII.

*Two BRITISH factors in RUSSIA attempt to open a new trade into independent TARTARY; with the several adventures that befel them.*

AS I am now on my departure from PERSIA, I shall introduce the journals of some other travellers on the eastern and western coast of the CASPIAN, particularly as these gentlemen were personally known to me, and had a connexion with the affairs of the RUSSIA company: to these I shall join Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal to MESCHED. As these journals are not verbose, and their authority is good, they must afford some satisfaction to the curious. It may be observed, that half the pleasure in this kind of reading, is to compare the relation with the map, and render that an object of sense, which is otherwise abstracted. This method helps at least in fixing the idea of the thing related in a more permanent degree.

Whilst Mr. ELTON was using his endeavours for opening a trade over the CASPIAN sea, Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON and Mr. REYNOLD HOGG undertook to establish a commercial intercourse with KHIEVA, BOKHARA, and.

and other parts of TARTARY, of which they give the following account.  
 “ On the 26th of February 1740, we set out from St. PETERSBURG with a  
 “ small quantity of goods, expecting to return by the end of the ensuing  
 “ winter. Our intention was to learn, if any trade could be carried on  
 “ amongst the TARTARS, particularly those of KHIEVA and BOKHARA.

“ Passing through the cities of MOSCO, VOLODIMUR, MUROM, and AR-  
 “ SAMAS, April the 6th we arrived at SAMARA, which is situated on the  
 “ east-side of the VOLGA, at the distance of 1800 wersts<sup>a</sup> from St. PETERS-  
 “ BURG. SAMARA being the last place in RUSSIA in our rout, we procured  
 “ the necessary dispatches of the governor, who had the command of the  
 “ TARTAR expedition. The 12th of June we proceeded on our journey  
 “ under a convoy, and travelling south-east in a beaten road through a  
 “ desert 300 wersts, we arrived the 17th at YAEIK, a town belonging to  
 “ the COSSACKS, who are subjects of RUSSIA. Here we changed our  
 “ EUROPEAN for TARTAR habits, and providing ourselves with camels,  
 “ horses, and other necessaries, we discharged our RUSSIAN attendants.  
 “ It was not without the utmost difficulty that we persuaded some KHAL-  
 “ MUCKS and TARTARS to engage in our service: the COSSACKS of the  
 “ YAEIK absolutely refused, giving us many instances of the distresses of  
 “ their own people, who had been plundered and made slaves in attempt-  
 “ ing to go to KHIEVA; but we were resolved to encounter all difficulties.  
 “ A chief of the KIRGESE TARTARS had sent us two persons as guides;  
 “ and we flattered ourselves that the authority of their chief, would be an  
 “ inducement to their fidelity in our defence.

“ Finding other KIRGESE, who were returning home from YAEIK  
 “ with merchandize, we joined them, making in all about twenty persons  
 “ on horseback; our goods were loaden on camels. The 26th of June we  
 “ set out on our journey, and travelled due east about 60 wersts every day,  
 “ through a desert without any road or path; the TARTARS directing  
 “ their course by remarkable hills and rivulets, well known to them. We  
 “ were obliged to keep watch night and day, knowing that when

<sup>a</sup> 1200 miles.

“ parties

“ parties meet, the weakest, even if they are of the same HORDA<sup>b</sup>, are  
 “ subject to many inconveniencies, and if they are of different HORDAS,  
 “ they kill those who are advanced in age, and make slaves of the young  
 “ people.

“ On the 7th of July we perceived a party at a distance, and our com-  
 “ panions pursued, and took three KHALMUCKS, with seven horses. This  
 “ was esteemed a legal, and a valuable prize, and was attended with this  
 “ further advantage, that we procured intelligence of the HORDA we were  
 “ in quest of.

“ July the 11th, We fell in with a party of KIRGEESE, with whom most  
 “ of our company remained; so that we were constrained to continue our  
 “ journey with our two guides only. We proceeded north-east till the  
 “ 16th, when we arrived near the HORDA of our friend, JEAN BEEK  
 “ BATER; he made us the compliment of sending his son, with several  
 “ other relations, to meet us, who conducted us the next day to his KA-  
 “ BITKA<sup>c</sup>. On reckoning our distance, we found it 800 wersts from the  
 “ river YAEIK. This TARTAR-chief was sitting on a carpet in his tent;  
 “ he rose, and bid us welcome, and making us sit down with him, he  
 “ took a large dish of KUMEESE<sup>d</sup>, which he drank, and made us do the  
 “ same. We gave him some small presents, which he immediately divided  
 “ amongst the company. Some days after we made him a more valuable  
 “ present, telling him that our design in going to KHIEVA, was to fix  
 “ and carry on a trade there; in which, if we succeeded, we should bring  
 “ much larger cargoes; and then it would be more in our power to re-  
 “ quite him for all his favours: in answer to which he assured us, that we  
 “ might command all the service in his power, to forward our design; and  
 “ insisted that we should continue with him till the extreme heat was abat-  
 “ ed, and refresh our cattle, which, from hard travelling, were in a very  
 “ weak condition.

“ The KIRGEESE TARTARS possess a very extensive tract of land, hav-  
 “ ing the BASHKEERT TARTARS to the north, the black KHALMUCKS,

<sup>b</sup> A tribe of TARTARS.  
 KHALMUCKS.

<sup>c</sup> Tent of the nature already described to be in use among the  
<sup>d</sup> Mare's milk fermented.

“ with the city of TASHCUND to the east, the KARAKULPACK TARTARS  
 “ and the ARAL lake to the south, and the river YAEIK to the west. They  
 “ are divided into three HORDAS, under the government of a KHAN.  
 “ That part which borders on the RUSSIAN dominions, was under the au-  
 “ thority of JEAN BEEK, whose name on all occasions was honoured with  
 “ the title of BATER <sup>f</sup>.

“ They live in tents made of wooden stakes, and covered with a felt  
 “ of camel’s hair; this they fix or remove with great ease, whenever they  
 “ change their quarters, and they never stay above two or three days in a  
 “ place. They feed on horse-flesh, mutton, and venison, and drink fer-  
 “ mented mare’s milk to excess; so that they often intoxicate themselves  
 “ with it. They have no grain, nor any kind of bread. When they go  
 “ upon an expedition they take a small quantity of cheese, which they call  
 “ CRUTE; this being dissolved in water, is their chief sustenance during  
 “ their journey. Money is hardly known among them; their riches con-  
 “ sist in cattle, fox, and wolf furs, which they exchange with their neigh-  
 “ bours for cloaths, and other necessaries. What little religion they have,  
 “ is MAHOMMEDANISM, and their language has a great affinity with that  
 “ of the TURKS. They are a strong robust people, but rude, ignorant, and  
 “ treacherous. They are very civil to strangers, whilst these continue under  
 “ their protection; for they esteem it the greatest dishonour to affront a  
 “ guest: but no sooner is he departed, than his professed friend and pro-  
 “ tector will sometimes be the first person to rob him, and happy if he es-  
 “ capes without being made a slave.

“ These KIRGEESE TARTARS have very little sense of many atrocious  
 “ crimes, particularly robbery. Their ordinary punishment in this case,  
 “ is only restitution to the person robbed; and for murder the loss of their  
 “ goods: sometimes indeed for the latter, the criminal and his whole fa-  
 “ mily, are delivered up into slavery to the relations of the deceased.

“ We remained with JEAN BEEK, and travelled in his company till the  
 “ 8th of August, when we found ourselves in the latitude of  $51^{\frac{1}{2}}$ , five

<sup>f</sup> This word signifies hero.

“ days journey to the east south-east of ORENBURG. This city was lately  
 “ built by the RUSSIANS, as a barrier against the KIRGEESE and KARA-  
 “ KULPACK TARTARS<sup>s</sup>, and likewise with a view of opening a trade  
 “ with them for furs, gold-dust, and rhubarb.

“ Having received directions from JEAN BEEK, and taking one of his  
 “ relations for our guide, we joined a caravan of KIRGEESE and TURKU-  
 “ MAN TARTARS, about sixty in number. With these we travelled south-  
 “ west near 50 wersts a day for eight days : we met several parties, but re-  
 “ ceived no harm from them ; although several TURKUMANS joined us,  
 “ who, after having been robbed of their effects, had with great difficulty  
 “ escaped with their lives.

“ August the 6th, we reached the ARAL lake, which is reckoned 22 days  
 “ journey from ORENBURG, and 12 from the river YAEIK. We travelled  
 “ south along a very high and rocky shore, where we were scarce able to  
 “ get any water once in two days; and this was so bitter and salt, that  
 “ necessity only obliged us to drink of it. The KARAKULPACKS inhabit  
 “ the east shore of this lake, where the river SIRR falls into it, and the  
 “ ARAL TARTARS the south shore, where it receives the great river AMO.  
 “ The latter use only small fishing boats, and never venture far from the  
 “ shore. It is said that a person cannot conveniently ride round this  
 “ lake in less than 35 days, being computed above 1000 ENGLISH  
 “ miles. There are abundance of wild horses, asses, antelopes, and  
 “ wolves; here is also a very fierce creature, called JOLBART, not un-  
 “ like a tyger, which the TARTARS say is of such prodigious strength  
 “ as to carry off a horse.

“ September the 3d, we left the lake, and arrived at a valley full of  
 “ brush-wood, and almost knee deep of stagnated water. We were in-  
 “ formed that this was the channel of the river OXUS, which had run betwixt

<sup>s</sup> In 1748 and 1749 these TARTARS brought about 40,000 l. value in silver, and drove a considerable trade with the RUSSIANS; the greatest part of this silver was the plunder of the PERSIAN camp in 1747, on the occasion of the massacre of NADIR SHAH.

“ the ARAL lake and the CASPIAN sea; but was stopped up by the  
“ TARTARS many ages since<sup>b</sup>.

“ The 5th, we came to the city JURGANTZ, which appeared to have  
“ been a large place; but now was entirely in ruins, no other building re-  
“ maining than a mosque. Here our company were very devout: they  
“ offered their prayers to heaven for their safe journey, and then went in  
“ search of gold, which they said, they had frequently found washed out by  
“ the rains from amongst the ruins of this city. We travelled on south-east  
“ till the 8th, when we arrived at some villages belonging to the TARTARS  
“ of KHIEVA. On the 9th, our company left us, and with our guide on-  
“ ly we proceeded due west 9 hours, and reached the city of KHIEVA,  
“ which is 17 days journey distant from the CASPIAN sea, and from OREN-  
“ BURG 33, computing a day's journey to be 40 RUSSIAN wersts<sup>i</sup>.

“ We took our lodgings in a caravanferai, which was a very mean build-  
“ ing. Here our goods and baggage were immediately searched and va-  
“ lued, for which we paid duty 5 per cent. We had then full liberty  
“ to sell them; but we could not dispose of a sufficient value to maintain  
“ ourselves and our cattle: for NADIR SHAH, who was then on his return  
“ from INDIA, was expected to make this place a visit; so that it was our  
“ misfortune to arrive when the state began to be in great confusion. The  
“ people were so infatuated as to think themselves a match for the PER-  
“ SIANS; but when they heard that the SHAH was with them in person,  
“ they were greatly terrified.

“ A few days after our arrival, one of the KIRGEESE came to us by  
“ night from our guide, and informed us, that if we consulted our own  
“ safety, we must return immediately; that the company we had parted  
“ with on the 9th, had been plundered by the TURKUMANS, and several  
“ of them killed; that they durst not stay longer in these parts; but were  
“ resolved to make up their loss on the road by reprisals. Finding he  
“ made no impression on us, he took his leave, promising to return in the  
“ spring, in company with our guide, if the country was in peace. KHIE-

<sup>b</sup> See page 135.

<sup>i</sup> 27 ENGLISH miles.

“EVA lies in the latitude of  $38^{\circ}$ , and is the residence of a KHAN. It is situated on a rising ground, has three gates, and is defended by a strong wall of earth, very thick, and much higher than the houses: it has turrets at small distances, and a broad deep ditch full of water. The place is large, but the houses are low, the greatest part of them being built with mud; the roofs are flat, and covered with earth. It commands a pleasant prospect of the adjacent plains, which, by the industry of the inhabitants, are rendered very fertile.

“The dominions of KHIEVA are of so small extent, that a person may ride round them in three days; it has five walled cities, all within half a day’s journey of each other. The KHAN is absolute, and entirely independent of any other power, except the MULLAH BASHI, or high-priest, by whom he is controlled. The KIEVINSKI TARTARS differ very little from the KIRGESE; but surpass them in cunning and treachery. Their manners are the same, only that the KIRGESE live in tents, whilst the others inhabit cities and villages. Their only trade is with BOKHARA and PERSIA, whither they carry cattle, furs, and hides, all which they have from the KIRGESE and TURKUMAN TARTARS, who often prove very troublesome neighbours to them. The place itself produces little more than cotton, lamb-furs, of a very mean quality; and a small quantity of raw silk, some of which they manufacture.

“The consumption of EUROPEAN cloth, and other commodities, is considerable, as is the whole trade of this place; so that no profit can be expected any ways proportioned to the risk. The duty on all goods belonging to CHRISTIANS is 5 per cent. and to all others who are not of the MAHOMMEDAN faith: but on the goods of MAHOMMEDANS only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The whole revenue arising to the KHAN does not amount to 100 ducats yearly. Their coin is ducats of gold, each weighing one MUSCAL, or 3 penny-weight ENGLISH; also TONGAS, a small piece of copper, of which 1500 are equal to a ducat. Their weights are the great BATMAN equal to 18 lb. RUSSIAN, and the lesser BATMAN  $9\frac{1}{4}$ , which they divide into halves, quarters, and smaller parts. Their measure is called GAZ, equal to 12 inches ENGLISH.”

These

These factors remained in KHIEVA till the 15th of December, the PERSIANS having in the interim taken possession of this place, the particulars of which I shall insert in the life of NADIR. The small quantity of goods which they had with them, were sold to the PERSIANS; but not being able to recover the money, Mr. HOGG was obliged to remain there, intending to return home by the same rout he came, whilst Mr. THOMPSON proceeded to BOKHARA, designing to return home through PERSIA, and over the CASPIAN sea. The TARTARS whom Mr. HOGG expected as a convoy, having been attacked by the TURKUMANS, were driven back to their own country, except those who lost their lives in a skirmish. Hence it was not till the 6th of April 1741, that he left KHIEVA, and finding that the TURKUMANS were roving upon the western side of the ARAL lake, he passed the AMO, and travelling eastward to the country of the KHARAKHULPACKS, in fifteen days he crossed the river SIRR, which falls into that lake, and thence proceeding in search of JEAN BEEK, the chief of the KIRGEESE TARTARS, he was set upon by seventeen of them, and plundered, narrowly escaping with his life. He found means however to make his complaint to JEAN BEEK, who was gone upon an expedition against the black KHALMUCKS, and obtained restitution of part of what he had been robbed of, with a promise of the remainder, which was never fulfilled. It was as good fortune as he could expect to get safe to ORENBURG; and from thence in the next spring he arrived in St. PETERSBURG, to the great satisfaction of his friends.

Mr. THOMPSON, whom we left proceeding to BOKHARA, gave the following account of the remainder of his journey: "I went to AZARIST, the last city in the dominions of KHIEVA, and the caravan which I had joined, crossed the AMO in boats: we travelled five days along the eastern banks of that river; then we provided a supply of water, and entered a sandy desert, taking very little rest till our arrival at BOKHARA.

"This is a large and populous city, lying in the latitude  $39\frac{1}{2}$  three days journey to the northward of the river AMO: it is the residence of the KHAN, who is entirely absolute, though his power extends very little beyond

“ yond the city. The adjacent country is called TURKISTAN, and is governed by several BEEKS, or chiefs, who are wholly independent of each other, as well as of the KHAN of BOKHARA.

“ The town is situated on a rising ground, with a slender wall of earth, and a dry ditch: the houses are low, and mostly built of mud: but the caravanferais and the mosques, which are numerous, are all of brick: the BAZARS, or market-places, have been stately buildings, but are now the greatest part of them in ruins; these are generally built of brick and stone. Here is also a stately building of the same materials, appropriated for the education of priests, who receive very considerable profits by their public discourses on the different points of their religion, which is the same as that of the TURKS. They differ from the PERSIANS, not only in regard to MAHOMMED’s successor, but in particular ceremonies: their hatred to the PERSIANS is much greater than to the CHRISTIANS, and they esteem themselves equally unclean by touching either of them; never omitting to wash themselves immediately after leaving their company.

“ The place is not esteemed unhealthy as to the air and soil; but the water is so very bad, that many of the inhabitants are confined several months in the summer by worms in their flesh, which they call RISH-TAS: some of these, when taken out of their bodies, prove to be above 40 inches long. There are also serpents and scorpions which infest their houses, and are very venomous; the sting of the scorpion causes great pain, and sometimes death: the most effectual remedy they find for the immediate cure of this distemper is to bruise the scorpion, and apply it to the wound.

“ The inhabitants of this city are more civilized and polite than those of KHIEVA; but they are also cowardly, cruel, effeminate, and extremely perfidious. Great numbers of JEWS and ARABIANS frequent this place; though they are much oppressed, and often deprived of their whole possessions by the KHAN, or his attendants, who seize them at their pleasure; and notwithstanding they pay most heavy taxes, it is criminal in them to be rich.

“ The

“ The trade of BOKHARA is much declined from what it was formerly : their product is cotton, lamb-furrs, down, rice, and cattle ; and they manufacture soap, cotton-yarn, and callicoe, which they carry to PERSIA, and receive returns in all sorts of manufactures of that country ; such as velvet, silk, cloth, and fashies : woollen-cloth is also brought hither from PERSIA, as likewise shalloons, indigo, coral, and cochineal. They have rhubarb, musk, and castorium, and many other valuable drugs from the black KHALMUCKS and TASHCUND. Formerly they received lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones, from BIDDUKHSHAN, the capital of the country of that name, which is computed sixteen days journey from BOKHARA. But the late wars, and the frequent robberies on the roads make it difficult to procure any of these commodities ; so that they are carried through another channel. The KHAN and his officers are possessed of very rich jewels ; but never dispose of them, unless in cases of the greatest necessity, and even then they are jealous of their being carried out of the country.

“ They make very little consumption of EUROPEAN commodities : as to cloth, they use it mostly in caps ; but no foreign commodity bears a price proportionable to the risk of bringing it to market.

“ Their money is ducats of gold, weighing a MUSCAL, or 3 penny-weight ENGLISH, also a piece of copper, which they call TONGAS, that pass at 50 to 80 to a ducat, according to their size. They have no silver money of their own coin ; but since NADIR SHAH took this place, the PERSIAN and INDIAN silver coin is very current amongst them.

“ The measure in BOKHARA is GAZ, equal to 31 inches ENGLISH ; but they always measure cloth by the PERSIAN measure of 40 inches. Their weights are the BATMANS, containing 16 DRUMSERS ; which last they divide into halves, quarters, &c. each DRUMSER containing 1375 MUSCALS, of which  $85\frac{1}{2}$  are equal to a RUSSIAN pound ; so that the BOKHARIAN BATMAN is above 16 pounds.

“ The duty, on all imported goods, belonging either to natives or foreigners, is 1 per cent. and on goods exported 10 per cent. The revenue

“venue from this duty is reckoned 1000 ducats yearly in time of peace, which but seldom happens. The PERSIAN and TARTAR languages are both spoken here; but all their writings are in the PERSIAN tongue.”

Mr. THOMPSON continued at BOKHARA till May; when he received notice that the ARAL TARTARS had plundered all round KHIEVA; and Mr. HOGG, as already related, happened to be an unfortunate sufferer. As the TARTARS had beset all the roads, and cut off several caravans coming from MESCHED, threatening even BOKHARA itself; Mr. THOMPSON continued impatient till the end of July, having no prospect during that time of travelling with any security. Several people, who had escaped from KHIEVA gave an account that the OUSBEGS had recovered that place, and destroyed the PERSIAN KHAN with all his attendants. Upon this the communication with KHIEVA was prohibited, the PERSIANS intending them a second visit; for which purpose they had ordered provisions for a large body of men.

The road to PERSIA being now the only safe way of returning to RUSSIA, at length he joined some merchants, who, having hired people to conduct them through by-roads into PERSIA, were resolved to run all hazards. He gives the following account of the remainder of his journey, “On the 8th of August we set out, and travelled east, passing through several OUSBEG villages till the 12th. After turning to the south, and travelling through deserts we came the 16th to the river AMO, and crossed it at KIRKIE, a fort belonging to the OUSBEGS, subject to PERSIA: here we paid a small duty, and proceeded south-east through deserts till the 21st, when we arrived at ANTHUY, an OUSBEG city; computed, in the direct road, to be only three days journey from BOKHARA.

“This country was then entirely subject to the PERSIANS, who carry on a great trade in cattle. Here we were detained ten days, waiting for a caravan, which was dispatched the 31st, when we set forward, and travelled west through narrow vallies bounded by high mountains: having passed several villages which were deserted by the OUSBEGS, we arrived the 6th of September at MARGIEHAK, the first PERSIAN city on that

“ side. This is a very strong place, surrounded by a double wall, and  
 “ governed by a KHAN : it has a garrison of 500 men, and is defended by  
 “ several pieces of cannon. In summer it is very unhealthy, by reason of  
 “ the frequent pestilential winds, which often kill those who are exposed  
 “ to them. To secure themselves against this inconveniency, the people hide  
 “ themselves under ground, or falling flat on the earth, cover themselves  
 “ with wet cloaths, till these winds blow over. The cattle which are  
 “ most exposed, are generally destroyed by these winds, though they are  
 “ but of a short continuance. During our stay here, which was only four  
 “ days, most of the people in the caravans fell sick, and great part of the  
 “ cattle, which was their chief merchandize, died.

“ On the 11th we travelled still west, through dry and sandy deserts,  
 “ where we got only two pots of water during four days, and this was so  
 “ bitter, and smelt so strong of sulphur, that the cattle would hardly drink  
 “ it. On the 15th, continuing our journey by a high ridge of rocks, and  
 “ a small rivulet of salt water, we came at length into a beaten road. We  
 “ passed through many villages, the greatest part of which were deserted ;  
 “ those which were inhabited being chiefly AFGHANS, brought from the  
 “ new-conquered dominions. The country hereabouts is very dry, bar-  
 “ ren, and mountainous.

“ September the 22d, we arrived at MESCHED, the capital of KHORA-  
 “ SAN, and the favourite city of NADIR. It was at this time governed  
 “ by his son RIZA KOULI MYRZA : it is situated to the north of a ridge  
 “ of mountains, and is well supplied with water, which is brought hither  
 “ in an aqueduct from a great distance : in time of peace it is a place of  
 “ great trade, caravans are employed daily from BOKHARA, BALKH,  
 “ BIDDUKHSHAN, KANDAHAR, and INDIA ; as well as from all parts of  
 “ PERSIA. The BAZARS, or market-places, are large and well built,  
 “ filled with rich merchandize, and frequented by great numbers of people  
 “ of different nations. There were computed about ninety caravanferais  
 “ in this city, all in good repair. Great numbers of people were sent hi-  
 “ ther by NADIR SHAH from all parts of PERSIA, as well as from the  
 “ new-conquered dominions ; and all other means were used to make it a  
 “ flourish-

“flourishing city: it is 14 days journey distant from BOKHARA by the direct road, 20 from BALKH, 26 from BIDDUKHSHAN, and 30 from KANDAHAR.”

The account which Mr. VAN MIEROP gave of the trade of MESCHED three years afterwards<sup>k</sup>, plainly shews how rapid a progress NADIR SHAH made in the ruin of PERSIA, even of this favourite city.

### C H A P. LIII.

*A succinct account of the distances and appearance of the country between CASBIN and MESCHED, as reported by Mr. VAN MIEROP.*

AS I have already given some idea of the nature of the country between RESHD and CASBIN, the following extract of Mr. VAN MIEROP's journal will exhibit a view of the country from CASBIN to MESCHED, which was designed to have been the great mart for our CASPIAN trade.

“From CASBIN we passed over a large plain that produced nothing but thistles, which the inhabitants use as fuel, and food for camels. After travelling about 25 ENGLISH miles we arrived at the village SHEKENDIE. Our journey lay still through the plains, on which are several spots of arable land: we travelled 30 miles, and finished our stage at the caravanferai YENGI IMAM; continuing yet on the same plain as far as the caravanferai CARA, 30 miles: the next day we passed over several bridges and small rivers, and advanced 30 miles to TÆHIRAN, in all about 115 miles, the country being bordered by high mountains on the north and south from CASBIN. TÆHIRAN is a city inclosed with a wall of earth, which has many round turrets; but the whole is much decayed: here we found provisions in plenty, and the bread exceeding good.

“Our next stage was 35 miles distant to the great caravanferai KEBUD HUMBED, near which is a lofty turret covered with glazed tiles. The

<sup>k</sup> See this account vol. II. p. 24.

“ soil is indifferently fertile, but not sufficiently watered. From hence  
 “ we travelled to EVANCKEFF; the land was rich and well watered, but  
 “ uncultivated. The next day we advanced 30 miles to the village KARA,  
 “ passing by a rock of salt, which is covered with a thin coat of earth  
 “ and mossy substance. From hence we proceeded 2 miles to the village  
 “ PAHDE, where we found the country well cultivated, and abounding in  
 “ water. DEHMAMECK caravanferai is the next stage, at the distance of  
 “ 20 miles, the land hereabout is either clay or gravel, and the water  
 “ so salt that we could not drink it. From thence to the village POCH-  
 “ LAKABA is 30 miles; the road lies on a plain, which is intersected by  
 “ several ridges of small hills. The village DESORGE lay in our way at  
 “ the distance of ten miles, the road of gravel, and very stony. From  
 “ thence, at the foot of several hills, we travelled 15 miles to SEMNON,  
 “ where it is supposed Mr. GRÆME<sup>a</sup> was murdered. Ascending the hills  
 “ we proceeded 35 miles to the caravanferai AHUAN; thence travelling  
 “ over several hills and valleys for 24 miles, we came to the caravanferai  
 “ KOSHAW, situated in an extended plain, on which are different villages  
 “ in a rich arable and well watered country.

“ Leaving the road which leads to MAZANDERAN, we travelled 29  
 “ miles over a fertile country to DAMGOON<sup>b</sup>. This has formerly been a  
 “ very neat town, but now three quarters of it are in ruins: the country from  
 “ hence is more stony and barren. Travelling under the mountains on the  
 “ north side of us for 33 miles, we came to DEMONLAH. The country  
 “ from hence to BEKEIST is well peopled and watered, and the soil rich;  
 “ from the last mentioned place the plain rises with a gradual ascent to  
 “ the hills on the south. We travelled thence 40 miles to MEY A MEY;  
 “ our rout lay along the side of the hills, where we found a number of  
 “ people from KOUHESTAN, living in tents made of black hair cloths;  
 “ having travelled 50 miles we arrived at the caravanferai of MEONDASHT.  
 “ From hence to ABASABAD is, with variety of soils, 25 miles: We

<sup>a</sup> This was the father who first set out with JOHN ELTON.

<sup>b</sup> Here was fought the memorable battle between the PERSIANS and the AFGHANS in 1729, which reinstated TIMHAS. DE LISLE places this town much farther to the westward.

“ passed.

“ passed several hills of a flaty copper-coloured stone, and advanced ten  
 “ miles to a river upon which is a bridge called PULABRISHIM, near  
 “ the village MEZINAN. The waters which flow from the mountains on  
 “ the north side are extremely salt, and come down with that impetuosi-  
 “ ty as frequently to overflow the bridge. The country hereabout was  
 “ rich and populous, being covered with villages, and abundance of cattle.  
 “ We went on 23 miles to the caravanferai TAVRIZE, which was new and  
 “ clean; from thence to the village MEHOR is 6 miles.

“ Passing over a fertile and well-manured country through CHOSROGERD,  
 “ we advanced 18 miles to SEBSAWAR<sup>d</sup>, which is a considerable walled-  
 “ town, and has a good market; from hence we passed over a plain, and  
 “ several small hills, 33 miles to the caravanferai SAFRANI: leaving this  
 “ place, and passing over hills and plains 21 miles to HAUZESINK, we  
 “ proceeded to an encampment, most of the people here living in tents.  
 “ Our next stage was 31 miles, through a populous country well watered,  
 “ and abounding in corn, to NISHABOOR, which we found well inhabited,  
 “ and in pretty good condition; and though small, it has a good market-  
 “ place. From hence to KADEMGAH is 21 miles, through a country di-  
 “ versified with hills and plains; near this place is a mosque covered with  
 “ blue-glazed tiles, which the PERSIANS hold in some veneration. From  
 “ hence there is a short cut over the hills to MESCHED, but it is passable  
 “ only in summer. Our next journey was 21 miles over stony plains and  
 “ hills to the caravanferai TIKIR DAVID; thence 21 miles over the  
 “ north part of the hills to the caravanferai GUMBEZDIRAS; from thence  
 “ cross steep stony hills 27 miles to the caravanferai TULOOK; from  
 “ thence over a plain, it is 6 miles to MESCHED. The whole distance  
 “ from RESHD is 782 ENGLISH miles<sup>e</sup>, according to the nearest compu-  
 “ tation we could make from the hours we were on the road, always tra-  
 “ velling an equal pace.”

<sup>d</sup> Here SHAH TÄHMAS was confined.  
 unless we allow for a great circuit.

<sup>e</sup> This seems to be rather too large a computation,

## C H A P. LIV.

*Extract of a journal<sup>a</sup> relating to the rout of the RUSSIAN embassy into PERSIA in 1746; with a description of the countries from ASTRACHAN as far as DERBEND.*

“ **H**ER imperial majesty ELIZABETH PETROWNA, empress of all  
 “ the RUSSIAS, having been pleased to send an embassy to NADIR  
 “ SHAH of PERSIA, his excellency KNEZ GALITZEN received a commis-  
 “ sion for this purpose.

“ The presents intended for the PERSIAN monarch, consisted of clocks,  
 “ watches, gold silver and PINCHBECK snuff-boxes, set with stones, or  
 “ embossed; toys, rich silks, brocades, embroidered works; twenty fine  
 “ horses of ENGLISH, SPANISH, GERMAN, ITALIAN, TURKISH, and  
 “ PERSIAN breed: these were, for the most part, sent by sea to GHILAN.  
 “ The ambassador had a coach, as well as riding-horses, prepared for him,  
 “ and his retinue had several other vehicles for baggage, provisions,  
 “ and water. The persons appointed to attend the ambassador were the  
 “ physician, surgeon<sup>b</sup>, officers of the ambassador’s household, keeper of  
 “ the chancery, secretary, writers, all in number eighteen; he had 30 do-  
 “ mestics, a guard of two troops of horse, and 60 fusileers.

“ His excellency departed from ASTRACHAN the 24th of September  
 “ 1746, and crossing the VOLGA, encamped on the western side of that  
 “ river. The next day we directed our journey northward on the banks of  
 “ the VOLGA for about four wersts, and then turned to the west upon the  
 “ top of a sandy hill covered on each side with lakes of fresh water; to  
 “ the south of it there was plenty of grass for our horses. The moon rising,  
 “ in the evening we decamped, directing our coast westward in a deep  
 “ sandy road, leaving several lakes of fresh water to the south-east; and

<sup>a</sup> This journal being defective in some particulars, I have taken the liberty of inserting some descriptions taken from other authorities equally good.

<sup>b</sup> DR. COOKE, now a graduate physician in SCOTLAND, to whom I am obliged for the journal above mentioned.

“ early

“ early the next morning, the 26th, we pitched our tents near the lake  
 “ BAHUSHY, which is brackish water, having travelled about 30 wersts  
 “ from our last stage. The country here affords little more than worm-  
 “ wood, and such like herbs, which delight in a sandy and warm soil im-  
 “ pregnated with salt. The reeds which grow here serve as food for the  
 “ horses of the KHALMUCKS, and other TARTARS, the leaves thereof be-  
 “ ing more grateful to them than grass. Our road lying southward, we  
 “ proceeded on our journey through a sandy country, abounding in lakes  
 “ of brackish water; the banks have plenty of liquorish and marsh tre-  
 “ foil. In the evening we encamped near the lake BASHMACHAH, 70  
 “ wersts from ASTRACHAN, where we fell in with a body of KHAL-  
 “ MUCKS, who had several droves of cattle; this put us under the ne-  
 “ cessity of doubling our watch, to prevent their stealing any of our horses.  
 “ The weather was cold, and the wind raising the sand and dust, made  
 “ our journey painful.

“ The 27th we encamped on the south-side of a barren mountain,  
 “ with a lake of brackish water at the foot of it; and then directing our  
 “ course southward, we travelled over a sandy country to a lake of water  
 “ more potable than any we had yet met with; here the plains produce  
 “ grass.

“ The 28th, Just as the sun appeared at the verge of the horizon we  
 “ encamped near the caravanferai SIZELLE, near which is a lake of po-  
 “ table water lying east and west, where we filled fourteen large casks.  
 “ At this interval we saw a great party of TARTARS riding on dromeda-  
 “ rics, and armed with sabres, bows and arrows; also a body of KHAL-  
 “ MUCKS armed and mounted on horseback; but they did not seem  
 “ inclined to interrupt our march. From this place we took our course  
 “ southward over hills which abound in antilopes. Thence we proceeded  
 “ to DEWRALY, which is covered by high sandy hills to the north east  
 “ and south-west. The reader will observe, that though here are a few  
 “ caravanferais, the country has no fixed inhabitants. We now reckoned  
 “ ourselves to be near 160 wersts from ASTRACHAN.

“ The RUSSIANS and TARTARS call them SAIGON.

“ The next day we travelled 27 wersts, and were necessitated to encamp  
“ on the top of a sandy hill, having some marshy ground below it, where  
“ we found reeds and grafs, with a lake of brackish water to the eastward.  
“ From hence we had an extensive view of a desert, on which not a  
“ shrub was to be seen, and very little grafs.

“ The 30th we departed from hence, our journey still lying through a  
“ a hilly and sandy country, much the same as has been already described,  
“ except that the sand was browner, and, what necessarily drew our atten-  
“ tion, was mixed with a great number of broken sea-shells, which lay  
“ in waves, as snow driven by the wind. We found here several springs  
“ of fresh water, but so choaked with sand, that they were of little use  
“ to us. Here is also a great quantity of moor-fowl, whose feathers are  
“ brown, and beautifully spotted with white, but so wild that we could  
“ not kill any of them: the RUSSIANS call this place EDERGINE. Our  
“ next encampment was on a plain, where we had not the relief of any  
“ kind of water.

“ October the 1st, we travelled 17 wersts, and encamped on a rising  
“ ground on the side of a lake of brackish water, which our cattle would  
“ hardly drink. After passing the river KUMA, which is computed 350  
“ wersts from ASTRACHAN, the country is not so hilly; and as we advanced  
“ southward, it abounded more in verdure. The grafs we found here  
“ was highly welcome to our cattle, which had suffered very much for  
“ want of provender. We encamped near the lake ADACK, whose waters  
“ are salt, and where the gnats were so numerous, that we were obliged  
“ to make fires round our encampment, and suffer the inconvenience of  
“ smoke, rather than of those vexatious insects.

“ The 2d, we found fresh water, which our horses had not tasted for  
“ four days: here PETER the GREAT left three large bombs erected on  
“ each other, as a kind of monument of his having passed that way, and  
“ probably with an intent that the sight of such instruments of death  
“ might give the roving TARTARS the higher idea of his military power.  
“ From thence travelling to the hill ALI SHAH, we met a detachment of  
“ forty

“ forty RUSSIAN dragoons from KISLAR, who brought with them seventy  
“ horses for the use of the embassador.

The 3d, Our course lay through a barren plain to the small river BE-  
“ KISHEFF MOYAK, on the banks of which the TARTARS report that  
“ poisonous herbs grow, which kill their cattle. Upon examination we  
“ found it to be only the small sort of KALI<sup>c</sup>; and, to convince them of  
“ their mistake, some of us eat of it. The fact is, that horses coming  
“ from ASTRACHAN, and suffering extremely for want of grass and water,  
“ are by the unskilfulness of their riders, suffered to eat and drink too  
“ much. The whole country between ASTRACHAN and this place is  
“ impregnated with salt, and some of the lakes are covered with it, inso-  
“ much that at certain seasons it is thick enough to bear a man or a horse;  
“ thus if it is considered, what a quantity of undissolved salt must line the  
“ stomach and guts of these animals, their blood-vessels being also satu-  
“ rated with it, it is easy to imagine what mischief it must create, when  
“ the vessels come to be distended beyond their natural spring, at the same  
“ time that many of their excretions are stopped up. We could not dis-  
“ cover that horses coming from KISLAR are subject to the same mis-  
“ fortune as here, and by the precaution we took, though we had 350  
“ horses, not one of them died.

“ The 3d, we travelled on the banks of the small river BECKECHAY,  
“ which being covered with verdure, and the waters transparent, as the  
“ small rivers here for the most part are, afforded us great delight. This  
“ country abounds with foxes, hares, and pheasants. Hence we passed  
“ the river BOROSDA, which being more considerable than the others, we  
“ were obliged to use a bridge of timber, and incamping in a marshy  
“ ground on the south-side of the river, the next day, the 4th, we arrived  
“ at KISLAR, which is computed 500 wersts from ASTRACHAN.

“ KISLAR stands on the river TERECK, sometimes called the river KIZ-  
“ LAR, though a barrier against the TARTARS, it is a very mean place: at the  
“ west end of the old town there is a fortification with a deep broad ditch  
“ flanked with counterscarps. Here are commonly 500 soldiers from the

<sup>c</sup> Or ALKALI, glass-wort, the ash of this is used in making glass and soap.

“ garrison of ASTRACHAN, and, upon some occasions, three or four march-  
 “ ing regiments, with four or five thousand COSSACKS, who are CHRISTI-  
 “ ANS, besides CIRCASSIAN TARTARS<sup>d</sup>; the latter are commanded by their  
 “ BEHURICH, or chief, and are the proper inhabitants of this country :  
 “ they are a well-made people, particularly their women, who are also  
 “ comely and chaste. The men are reckoned more warlike than the DON  
 “ COSSACKS, though they acknowledge that courage is less esteemed  
 “ amongst them than in former days. They were conquered by IVAN  
 “ WASSILOWITZ, but have been indulged in the use of their own religion,  
 “ which is MAHOMMEDAN, they have two mosques a little westward of  
 “ KISLAR, and also nine villages<sup>e</sup>. They acknowledge subjection to her  
 “ imperial majesty, to which they are very faithful, though they com-  
 “ plain of the oppression of the RUSSIAN governors who are set over them.

“ About 30 wersts to the south-west of KISLAR, on the first CIRCAS-  
 “ SIAN mountain lying on the south of the river TERECK, there is a well  
 “ about 40 fathom perpendicular, from which issues boiling water  
 “ into a stone basin, which soon falls down a precipice near 30 fathoms  
 “ into the TERECK, in sufficient quantities to turn the wheel of a mill.  
 “ The TARTARS convey it also into pits, and find great relief in many  
 “ complaints from bathing in it. Amongst several experiments which the  
 “ surgeon made of this water, he found that after it was bottled up  
 “ close for a short time, the smell of the naptha went off. Near this  
 “ hill are seven springs of the same kind of water, and also one  
 “ which appears to be impregnated with allom, being so acid and re-  
 “ stringent as not to be borne long in the mouth. The surgeon made al-  
 “ so an experiment of the heat of the well-water, by boiling a fowl in it  
 “ in nine minutes ; this sudden coction seemed to be caused by the quan-  
 “ tity of naptha, of which the water is impregnated, as is obvious from the  
 “ smell of it. Not far distant there are several small pits dug in the earth,  
 “ in which there is salt of the utmost brightness and purity of colour,  
 “ which dissolves in the mouth instantaneously, giving a very pungent sen-

<sup>d</sup> Part of the CIRCASSIANS of KABARDINIA are under the protection of RUSSIA ; but the major part acknowledge the sovereignty of the TURKS.

<sup>e</sup> The RUSSIANS call these GREBINSKIE.

“ fation. Though the weather was now very cold, the warmth of these  
 “ wells of hot water produced near them the verdure and flowers of  
 “ spring, and a great concourse of frogs. About half a mile westward of  
 “ this hill are 7 wells of naphtha, in which the wild swine delight to lie;  
 “ the TARTARS use it for their lamps, and for the axle-trees of their  
 “ carts. At the back of these mountains are the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS,  
 “ of whom some are subject to RUSSIA; their country extends westward  
 “ towards the PALUS MÆOTIS. Of these, we were assured, some are  
 “ pagans, and worship a tree, and the head of a goat<sup>f</sup>.

“ January the 4th, 1747, after spending our time for three months as  
 “ well as such a place would admit, having been much confined for fear  
 “ of the roving TARTARS; the ambassador now received notice, that  
 “ an escort of PERSIANS, reported to be 12,000 men, was come on the  
 “ RUSSIAN frontier to meet him. We therefore set forward, and tra-  
 “ versing a marshy and woody ground, which the snow had rendered al-  
 “ most impassable, we encamped on the south-east side of the small river  
 “ BURGINE, where the RUSSIANS keep an advanced guard. The 5th,  
 “ the country being covered with snow, made our journey laborious.  
 “ Passing the river STZUTZJA, we encamped on the banks of the AXAN<sup>g</sup>.

“ Though it had frozen but four days, we passed over the ice on the  
 “ AXAN without the least danger, and on the 6th arrived at a TARTAR  
 “ town under the RUSSIAN protection; though otherwise a kind of inde-  
 “ pendent state. The prince of it was called ALI SHEFF: it stands on a  
 “ high bank on the north side of the river AHRAHIN, and contains about  
 “ 300 houses; the walls of which are of clay whitened with lime. The  
 “ inhabitants are the most acute thieves in the world, insomuch that the  
 “ utmost precaution we could use, was not sufficient to prevent their pilfer-  
 “ ing us; and near to this is another TARTAR village subject to the RUS-  
 “ SIANS, called ANDREWSKA. The next day we passed the ford of AH-  
 “ RAHIN, which is about 300 paces broad, and the stream rapid: then

<sup>f</sup> A FRENCH missionary, whom I knew in PERSIA, offered to go amongst these people; but he said the RUSSIANS were jealous.

<sup>g</sup> By the RUSSIANS sometimes called *oxi* and *ATROUS*.

“ directing our course eastward, we arrived near the antient SULAK, where  
 “ stood a fortification formerly belonging to the RUSSIANS<sup>h</sup>. On the  
 “ banks of the AHRAHIN grows plenty of short wood, which is very hea-  
 “ vy, and the bark of it being taken off, is of a beautiful variegated co-  
 “ lour. Proceeding on our journey through a wood of oaks intertwined  
 “ with vines, we reached the small river TERSCALY, which is called the  
 “ boundary of the RUSSIAN dominion towards PERSIA; though we might,  
 “ with more propriety say, towards DAGHESTAN, the country of the  
 “ LESGEE TARTARS; for they have not acknowledged subjection to PER-  
 “ SIA. Here several PERSIAN officers, attended by a guard, came to  
 “ compliment the ambassador on his arrival. This river, though small,  
 “ is rapid, and even in the summer season not fordable towards noon; for  
 “ as the stupendous mountains, which almost surround it, are ever covered  
 “ with snow, when the sun acts intensely, torrents of water fall from  
 “ them<sup>i</sup>.

“ The 9th, we encamped a short mile from the PERSIAN ar-  
 “ my. A detachment of our COSSACKS being sent for fuel, one of  
 “ them was shot dead through the body with a single ball. The 11th,  
 “ we joined the PERSIANS, and marching under the mountains BISCHANS-  
 “ KY, we pitched our tents on a plain ground. The next day our road  
 “ was also on a plain, having some lakes of water on the east, and lofty  
 “ mountains on the west. Several camels belonging to the PERSIANS  
 “ dropped with fatigue, and they either cut their throats, or ham-strung

<sup>h</sup> “ This fortification was intended to awe the CIRCASSIAN TARTARS as far as TARKU, as they  
 “ frequently made inroads into the lower countries. At BONACK the RUSSIANS built another fort,  
 “ with a view to preserve the communication between RUSSIA and DERBEND. From thence to  
 “ SHABRAN quite to BAKU I never learnt that they built any fortifications, or that the LESGEE  
 “ TARTARS troubled them with any visits. The country from KISLAR quite to RESHD was under  
 “ the RUSSIAN subjection, in consequence of the conquest made by PETER the GREAT; it is  
 “ bounded by the mountains on the west, and by the CASPIAN on the east. The chief towns are  
 “ TARKU, BOYNAK, DERBEND, BAKU, ASTARA, KESKAR, and RESHD, and their dependencies.  
 “ Some of the inhabitants of the MOCAN plains, it is also said, acknowledged the sovereignty of RUSSIA,  
 “ and paid some small tribute.

<sup>i</sup> The gentleman who obliged me with the journal, being a north BRITON, takes notice that the  
 highlands of SCOTLAND are but as mole-hills to these mountains.

“ them,

“ them, that the TARTARS might not, on their recovery, receive any benefit.

“ The 13th, Yesterday and to-day we passed through several tracts of arable land, the road being indifferently good till we arrived on the north side of the mountain TARKU, whose summit appears like a table; its highest side declines towards the lofty mountains already mentioned; there is another large rock on the surface of it in an orbicular form: this is separated from the other mountains by a deep valley. About two miles from the sea is a beautiful plain; near the foot of the mountain were vineyards and gardens of fruit, which the PERSIANS entirely cut down for the use of the embassador and his retinue; alledging however that the TARTARS had killed or stolen 15 PERSIANS belonging to their body the night before; for though these villagers profess subjection to the PERSIANS, yet whenever an opportunity offers to commit any hostility in a secret manner, they seldom decline their ancient custom.

“ On the declivity of this hill are three TARTAR villages about an ENGLISH mile distant from each other, which contained about 1000 souls; and notwithstanding their vicinity, were in a state of war. The TARTAR princes, who formerly extended their dominions as far as the black sea, it is said, chose this hill as their residence, which is the more probable from the several extensive burial-places near it, where are many monuments of stone, with hieroglyphics expressing the characters and professions of the deceased. In this place the LESGEES attacked PETER the GREAT in 1722, when he marched an army into PERSIA; and, according to some reports, they killed no less than 3000 RUSSIANS. Some part of the embassador's retinue went to the nearest village, and were civilly treated; the TARTARS offered them two large loaves of bread, in exchange for a gun flint.

“ The 16th, leaving TARKU, and passing over several stony hills, we pitched our tents on the high banks of the little river MANAS, and from thence through deep vallies, which made the journey tedious, into an open plain where the RUSSIAN army in 1722, was again attacked.

“ by,

“ by the TARTARS, who were soon repulsed. A detachment of them  
 “ now took their stand upon an eminence near BOYNÄK. Not far from  
 “ this place the POLISH embassador, in his return from PERSIA in 1639,  
 “ having, by his fault or misfortune, quarrelled with the inhabitants, was  
 “ cut off with his whole retinue, three only excepted, who escaped into  
 “ PERSIA. Nor were the HOLSTEIN embassadors in less perplexity the  
 “ year before, when all their prudence and resolution seemed necessary to  
 “ ward off the blow which they had reason to apprehend from the DA-  
 “ GESTAN TARTARS. Things indeed were now very differently circum-  
 “ stanced, not only with regard to the terror of the RUSSIAN arms in ge-  
 “ neral, but also of the neighbourhood of the RUSSIAN garrisons.

“ The 17th we passed by an old PERSIAN castle, near which we view-  
 “ ed the plains where NADIR SHAH lost a great number of his forces three  
 “ years before in the rebellion of SHIRVAN, in which the LESGEEES took  
 “ part. This country is well stocked with wild hogs and elks; we killed  
 “ a very large boar that we roused in the midst of our camp.

“ The 18th, our course lay along the side of low sandy hills to the east-  
 “ ward of us, and we encamped in a plain where NADIR SHAH had built  
 “ a fort to awe the TARTARS, but it was now deserted. Here we found great  
 “ plenty of game, as swine, deer, elks, hares, foxes, and shakals, with abun-  
 “ dance of partridges, pheasants, quails, wild geese, ducks, and other fowls.  
 “ The next day we travelled over a country more cultivated; and passing by  
 “ a well of hot water, we pitched our tents on the declivity of DERBEND hill,  
 “ the city appearing about two miles distance. From hence are seen seve-  
 “ ral turrets yet perfect, which the PERSIANS pretend are part of a wall  
 “ built by ALEXANDER the GREAT, from hence quite to the black sea.  
 “ The mountains here make a very awful appearance, reaching above the  
 “ clouds, so that their summits are hardly visible in the clearest weather.

## C H A P. LV.

*A continuation of the RUSSIAN embassy. Description of DERBEND and its confines. An account of the government, dress, religion, soil, trade, &c. of the LESGEE TARTARS.*

“ **T**HE 20th of January 1747, we pitched our tents under the south-  
 “ wall of DERBEND : the embassador would have preferred that si-  
 “ tuation to the city, where he could not have accommodated all his guard  
 “ and retinue ; had there been no objection to their admittance.

“ A city of such great antiquity as this, and so often mentioned by his-  
 “ torians, deserves more than common attention, especially as it is the on-  
 “ ly place now standing upon the shores of the CASPIAN sea, which has  
 “ any thing to boast of. It is natural to believe, that historians often bor-  
 “ row from each other, few taking the pains to examine into a fact, the  
 “ reality of which no one has pretended to confute. The curious will find  
 “ many circumstances to incline their belief, that DERBEND was built by  
 “ ALEXANDER the GREAT<sup>a</sup>. They do not however ascribe the whole  
 “ to him, but the highest and strongest part which is to the westward.

This city has often changed its master, having been several times in the  
 “ hands of the TURKS ; the TARTARS also are said to have had possession  
 “ of it. The RUSSIANS kept it for several years during this century ; and  
 “ now it is again in the hands of the PERSIANS. According to the nearest  
 “ computation, it is about 3 ENGLISH miles in length, but in breadth not  
 “ exceeding half a mile. It extends itself from the verge of the shore  
 “ due west up to the foot of a lofty mountain, the whole on a declivity ;  
 “ and its natural situation is such as to form in strict propriety, the gates of

<sup>a</sup> When PETER the GREAT returned from his PERSIAN war, the greatest motive to triumph seem-  
 ed to be the receipt of the silver key of DERBEND, which was delivered to him, and which in a pom-  
 pous manner was carried before him when he entered MOSCO ; and the foundation of DERBEND  
 being ascribed to ALEXANDER the GREAT, this gave occasion to the following inscription on one  
 of the triumphal arches erected on this occasion :

StrVXerat hanC fortIs, tenet  
 hanC, seD fortIor VrbeM.

PERSIA

“ PERSIA on this side; for there is no passage to the westward without  
 “ going deep into the mountains, which are guarded by their proper inha-  
 “ bitants, who have not submitted to the PERSIAN yoke. This place is di-  
 “ vided into three quarters, appropriated to different purposes, each having  
 “ their distinct walls, which serve also to render the ground more equal  
 “ on the declivity.

“ The upper town, which is about half a mile square, constitutes the cita-  
 “ del, and is incomparably the strongest. As the PERSIANS have been in war  
 “ with the TARTARS for several years, they are extremely jealous; inso-  
 “ much that some of the ambassador’s people, who approached the exte-  
 “ rior part of the walls of the citadel, were beat off with stones, and several  
 “ musquets discharged at them. No person is permitted to enter it but  
 “ the soldiers which belong to the garrison, except upon extraordinary oc-  
 “ casions. The citadel has its distinct governor, with whom the other does  
 “ not interfere: they mount about 40 pieces of cannon; but what their  
 “ strength otherwise was, we had no opportunity of observing.

“ The walls of the middle town are about 30 feet high, near 20 feet  
 “ thick at the foundation, and 12 or 15 in the upper part, having a breast-  
 “ work of about 3 feet thick, and port-holes at convenient distances for  
 “ musquets, or bows and arrows: It is defended also by about 60 flanking  
 “ bastions, for the most part square, but of greater use against the TAR-  
 “ TARS than they could be to oppose an EUROPEAN army. The walls are  
 “ made of a shelly stone, which appears to be a composition of sea-  
 “ shells very strongly cemented. How nature has produced these, or whether  
 “ they remained from the deluge, we must leave the curious to determine;  
 “ only observing, that such shells do not appear on any of the CASPIAN  
 “ shores. It is certain however that the rocks about the town are of the  
 “ same composition, which, though hard as a stone, has a different pro-  
 “ perty, inasmuch as a cannon-ball has no other effect, than to make an  
 “ impression of its own diameter<sup>b</sup>.

“ The

<sup>1</sup> Captain WOODROOFE, from whom I take part of this account, says these stones in the out-  
 side are for the most part of two or three tons in measurement, and some yet more weighty.  
 They

“ The gates of the city have very strong and well-made arches, with  
 “ sliding holes to shoot arrows, or throw down great stones on the enemy.  
 “ In the middle city they are not scrupulous of admitting foreigners. The  
 “ streets are not regular, nor are they paved at present, though they have  
 “ been so formerly; many of the houses are supported on one side by the  
 “ hill; but numbers are fallen down, and the greatest part in ruins. It  
 “ is hardly possible to describe the miseries which this place suffered about  
 “ four years before, when NADIR SHAH came in person against the LES-  
 “ GEES; we saw a specimen of it by the carcases of horses, and other ani-  
 “ mals, which were suffered to remain in the streets, and in ruined houses.  
 “ We found also in this town about 500 men, whose eyes NADIR SHAH  
 “ had caused to be put out at one time. Here is a very magnificent mosque,  
 “ the roof of which is supported by 84 arches: NADIR SHAH converted it  
 “ into a magazine<sup>b</sup>; we went into it on horseback without giving any kind  
 “ of offence. Here are several caravanserais that belong to the ARMENIANS,  
 “ and are much the best.

“ The easternmost part of the lower city is washed by the sea, the rising  
 “ of which has, of late years, made no small impression upon the walls.  
 “ These are guarded by two round bastions, without which there was for-  
 “ merly a harbour for small vessels. It was not till of late that this lower town  
 “ had any inhabitants; but NADIR, having built a palace in it, caused several  
 “ streets of houses also to be erected, with a view to establish a considera-  
 “ ble commerce in the city, which he made a free port<sup>c</sup>. Here PETER  
 “ the GREAT established his principal magazines; and the PERSIAN soldiers  
 “ now keep their flocks in this part of the city: but the TARTARS, ei-  
 “ ther by undermining or scaling the walls, frequently make incursions in  
 “ the night in small parties, carrying away whatever they meet with.

They are very well jointed, and regularly laid. OLEARIUS remarked in 1638, that a man might judge the wall to be built of the best and fairest kind of free-stone; but coming near, he says they appeared to be “ muscle shells and pieces of free-stone beaten and moulded like brick, which time has produced to a hardness beyond that of marble;” but there is no doubt they are of the same nature as some of the adjacent rocks.

<sup>b</sup> This is the building which rendered the TURKS so scrupulous of yielding up the city to PETER the GREAT.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to have been a well concerted scheme towards the reduction of the LESGEE TARTARS.

“ The cruelties which are reciprocally exercised between the PERSIANS and LESGEEES are hardly to be conceived: such as are taken and suspected of being spies, have their eyes put out, and are turned out of the city: many who are made prisoners in battle, have both their arms cut off, and such as are taken in their flight have frequently their legs cut off, and are left to expire in the field in these miserable circumstances, unless they are secretly and accidentally relieved by their countrymen. The leaders of them they decapitate, and throw their heads into a heap in the manner they pile shot <sup>d</sup>.

“ On the south side of DERBEND are many vineyards and gardens, which are continued for near 8 miles to the southward; but these, as well as their arable lands, have partaken the common fate of war. On both sides of the city, on the declivity of the hill, are many antient burial-places; and the PERSIANS report, that of these are not less than 40 belonging to CHRISTIAN TARTAR princes, who have died fighting for their religion. There are many antient tomb-stones, from 6 to 9 feet long, which cover the graves, with inscriptions not intelligible to any of the present inhabitants. The PERSIANS, who deal much in the marvellous, endeavoured to persuade us, that these stones were cut in length exactly to the stature of the deceased <sup>e</sup>.

“ As the neighbourhood of this city is the country of the LESGEE TARTARS; before we depart from hence, it is necessary we should say something concerning them, and the more as they are well known to be some of the bravest people in the world. Their country extends south from near the latitude of TARKU about 40 leagues, and 25 westward. They are under several different chiefs <sup>f</sup>, who, in case of danger to their common liberty, unite their forces. Some few of them have been occasionally subjected to the PERSIANS; but the CARACAITA <sup>g</sup>, and their neighbours to the north and west of the PERSIAN dominions,

<sup>d</sup> Captain WOODROOFE, who was some time at DERBEND during the war with the TARTARS, makes this report.

<sup>e</sup> According to WOODROOFE's account.

<sup>f</sup> The governors of districts, some of whom pay homage to the PERSIANS; those are called SCHEMKALLS.

<sup>g</sup> A species of LESGEEES so called.

“ it does not appear, at any period of time, that they have ever submitted.  
 “ Indeed their situation is such, with regard to the natural bulwarks of  
 “ their mountains, that so long as they retain their virtue, they can hardly  
 “ be enslaved : their chief is called OUSMAI. OLEARIUS gives an account  
 “ of the humourous manner of their chusing the SCHEMKALL. This is  
 “ done by the priest throwing a golden apple in a ring, round which the  
 “ candidates are seated, and the person whom it stops at, becomes their  
 “ sovereign ; but as they live under a kind of a republican government, the  
 “ distinction paid him is not very considerable.

“ These people are able to bring 30 or 40 thousand men into the  
 “ field. The residence of the OUSMAI is about 30 ENGLISH miles north-west  
 “ of DERBEND. They have had frequent wars with the PERSIANS, and  
 “ lastly with NADIR SHAH, who, with 15,000 men, pursued a large body  
 “ of them into the hills ; but was at length glad to retreat, after sustaining  
 “ a very considerable loss. Several PERSIANS, who were taken prisoners  
 “ on that occasion, were cruelly maimed in their noses, ears, or eyes, and  
 “ sent to NADIR with messages of defiance.

“ These people are often guilty of rapine, not only in the low-lands,  
 “ and in large bodies, but also in flying parties, pillaging the ARMENIANS  
 “ and GEORGIANS, whose trade brings them between BAKU and DERBEND ;  
 “ otherwise they are often obliged to pay a heavy contribution for a safe  
 “ convoy. These TARTARS are however remarkable in this, that if  
 “ any stranger travelling into their country, or on the borders of it,  
 “ seeks their protection, and chuses a guide from among them, let him  
 “ meet never so strong a party, it is enough if the guide declares that the  
 “ stranger is his guest ; for they are hardly known to violate the laws  
 “ of hospitality in any instance of this nature.

“ In their persons they are well made, of good stature, and extremely  
 “ active : their countenance is swarthy, their features regular, and their  
 “ eyes black, and full of life.

“ Their dress resembles the GREEK or ARABIAN manner, many of  
 “ them wearing the same kind of drawers reaching down to their ancles.

“ Their caps are not so lofty as those of the PERSIANS, neither do all of them wear their beards, some preferring whiskers only.

“ They live after the manner of the PERSIANS, professing the MAHOMMEDAN religion; but at the same time they talk very lightly of the pretended miracles of MAHOMMED; adding, that he was a very artful man, and whether he has any particular interest with the ALMIGHTY, will be best known hereafter. That they once professed the CHRISTIAN religion, seems to be in the highest degree probable. A FRENCH missionary<sup>a</sup>, who resided some time in their country, affirms, that he found among them several books relating to CHRISTIANITY. The same is confirmed by the expedition which NADIR SHAH made, when, among other spoils, he brought away divers books, some of which he had the curiosity to order to be translated; and from thence also it appeared, that they had been CHRISTIANS. The PERSIANS will hardly be persuaded that they do not continue such, seeing that they drink wine without reserve, and marry but one woman<sup>b</sup>.

“ Their vallies are exceeding fertile, producing plenty of wheat, oats, and barley, with abundance of sheep, whilst their hills are covered with vines, from which they make very good wine, and have great plenty of it. Their country is for the most part very pleasant. They are ingenious in several manufactures of wool and camels hair; and none of the neighbouring nations equal them in making fire-arms, which they sell to the PERSIANS. The ARMENIANS bring them dyed calicoes, and other manufactures of PERSIA, also rings, knives, and ear-rings; made in EUROPE, in return of which they receive madder<sup>i</sup>; also fire-arms, and coarse woollen manufactures; together with false PERSIAN money; for as the coin of this empire is made small and thick, it is counterfeited exactly with very little silver. It is said the ARMENIANS accept of this.

<sup>a</sup> A JESUIT, with whom I was particularly acquainted in CHILAN, and from whom I received the greatest part of this account.

<sup>b</sup> According to the missionary's account; others say that a plurality is allowed; so that I imagine they differ from each other in this particular in different parts of their country.

<sup>i</sup> A root which dyes red.

“ coun-

“ counterfeit for a quarter part of it's current value ; however this may be ,  
 “ it is certain there are great quantities of this money in PERSIA, not only  
 “ silver, but gold also. These TARTARS trade likewise with the RUS-  
 “ SIANS with their madder, taking in exchange, shoes, boots, and cloathing.  
 “ of dressed sheep-skins.”

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C H A P. LVI.

*Continuation of the RUSSIAN embassy, with a description of the tract of  
 country from DERBEND to BAKU, and a succinct account of this city.*

“ THE 29th of January 1747. we left DERBEND, marching south-  
 “ ward, the high mountain on which that city stands, being on the  
 “ west, and the sea to the eastward of us: we travelled by several woods,  
 “ and over a small river, and encamped on a plain 17 wersts from DER-  
 “ BEND. We had already, on the other side of that city, been much in-  
 “ commoded with shackalls; but here their howling was more intoler-  
 “ able, when one begins, they all take the cry; however they do no other  
 “ mischief. .

“ The 30th, We passed two very high ridges covered with grass, which  
 “ the PERSIANS said were the walls of a great city, once the residence of  
 “ the princes of the hilly country. From thence directing our march  
 “ through the ruins of a large town, a wood of oaks, and some arable  
 “ land, though now deserted, we passed the URBAS, and several little rivers,  
 “ till we reached the SAMBUR, which is near a mile broad. The course  
 “ of this river is rapid, but we passed it without difficulty, and pitched our  
 “ tents on the south banks, leaving behind us a small fort on the north side.  
 “ Here we found great plenty of wild swine, hares, partridges; and pheasants,  
 “ also a moor-fowl, the flesh of which was very delicious. From thence  
 “ travelling through a country of rich ground well watered, and indiffe-  
 “ rently wooded for about 12 wersts, we passed through another town in  
 “ ruins: from hence the country is more sandy.

“ From

“February the 21<sup>st</sup>, We pitched our tents on the declivity of a hill,  
 “having a castle to the south-west. It was now clear weather and  
 “hard frost; we had the view of a very remarkable mountain, called the  
 “SHAH’s hill, from which the snow appeared in a great variety of hues.  
 “The next day we passed many rivulets, six of which were not inconsiderable;  
 “their banks are well wooded with timber. We encamped near  
 “the castle of SHIRVAN, where there was a garrison of 500 PERSIANS.  
 “The 3<sup>d</sup>, we passed not far from the ruins of a large city, said to be the old  
 “SHAMAKIE<sup>o</sup>, and pitched our tents on the declivity of a verdant hill,  
 “having the sea at a small distance to the eastward.

“The 4<sup>th</sup>, We arrived at the caravanferai, which is esteemed the first in  
 “the PERSIAN dominions; from hence are to be seen the remains of some  
 “old walls which run into the sea. Near this caravanferai is the peak  
 “SPITZBERMACK, which in form resembles a man’s hand, and is of the  
 “same kind of matter as the walls of DERBEND. Some of our company  
 “made an excursion to the foot of it, and thence up a steep hill to a fort,  
 “which has a battlement round it of hewn stone. This runs on the south  
 “side of the rock till it forms the summit of a precipice, whose bottom  
 “the hazy weather did not permit us to discover. There are several  
 “square holes, as if intended to throw down stones, and an arched vault,  
 “of which part is broken down: from thence we climbed up about 30  
 “fathoms to the top of the peak; it forms near a semicircle, round which  
 “we observed the remains of a wall. On the south side there are above  
 “100 stone steps, by which we descended, and found a small square platform,  
 “surrounded with a wall of about 12 feet on each side; then going  
 “on northward, we saw nothing but a precipice, till the clouds intercepted  
 “our sight, though the sky above us was serene. We then passed  
 “between an opening in the rock to the west side, and came to a small  
 “square, where we found a book in a niche of one of the walls, the  
 “characters of which we apprehended to be ARABIC; the paper was  
 “very hard and unpliant. This romantic scene, which is difficult to describe,  
 “the PERSIANS and TARTARS believe to be the residence of the

\* NADIR SHAH removed the inhabitants to the westward over the mountains.

“ prophet

“ prophet ELIAS when he fled from AHAB. Near it is the burying-place  
 “ of some of the MAHOMMEDAN prophets. From hence appeared the  
 “ summits of many mountains raising their proud heads above the clouds.  
 “ We now returned the same way as we came to the head of the steps, and  
 “ observed at the south end of the peak a pillar of stone of about 60 feet  
 “ high, and near 5 feet diameter, at the foot of which the rock was black  
 “ for some distance; the PERSIANS say there sometimes runs a stream of wa-  
 “ ter. As the ambassador and his retinue passed under the hill, we heard  
 “ a very confused noise, as coming from a great distance: upon our  
 “ discovery of some TARTARS, we resolved to retire immediately. This  
 “ is said to have been formerly a nest of robbers; but the want of water  
 “ has dislodged them: if there is a possibility of an impregnable castle,  
 “ this certainly might be rendered such.

“ The 5th, we travelled about 40 wersts, the most part through a bar-  
 “ ren and sandy soil, but good road, leaving several springs of black nap-  
 “ tha to the westward, and encamped at the caravanferai near NIEZABAD.  
 “ The 6th, we proceeded on our journey, passing by three caravanferais  
 “ to the eastward, and six wells of white naptha at the foot of a hill, co-  
 “ vered with verdure on the north: the smell of the naptha was very of-  
 “ fensive. We travelled over several rocks of brown soft free-stone, and  
 “ encamped on the north side of BAKU, remarkable for the best haven  
 “ on the CASPIAN. Here ships can lie moored head and stern, with their  
 “ heads to the sea 40 fathoms off the shore, within the command of two  
 “ strong bastions, as also by the side of the wall of the northernmost bas-  
 “ tion. In this city is a sumptuous palace of hewn stone, which the RUS-  
 “ SIAN bombs in 1722 had contributed to reduce to the ruinous state in  
 “ which we found it. The PERSIANS say, that as the TURKS made use  
 “ of it as a magazine, they will not repair it; but the truth is, they are in  
 “ no circumstances to do any such thing.

“ The rebellion of 1743 did not cost less than the lives of 15000 men,  
 “ to the province and the adjacent country of SHIRVAN. Formerly many  
 “ merchants lived here, especially INDIANS and ARMENIANS, together  
 “ with several TARTARS; and, in the single branch of raw silk, they  
 “ used.

“ used to export 400 bales of 25 batmans each ; but now they have scarce  
“ any vestiges of commerce.

“ This city is said to have been built by the TURKS : the fortification is  
“ semicircular, and the two points of it are extended into the sea. It is  
“ defended by a double wall, of which the inmost is left for a PERSIAN  
“ fortification. It has also a ditch and redoubts, which last constitute the  
“ greatest part of its strength. These were made by the RUSSIANS when  
“ they were masters of the city ; but the PERSIANS are ignorant of the use  
“ of them. The ditch has no communication with the sea, being on dry  
“ ground, as the place stands on a declivity ; but they can fill it in 24  
“ hours by water which runs from the adjacent mountains. As all the coun-  
“ try here is impregnated with salt and sulphur, the water, though esteem-  
“ ed wholesome, is very unpleasant. The neighbourhood of this city sup-  
“ plies GHILAN, and MAZANDERAN, and other countries contiguous with  
“ rock-salt, brimstone, and naptha. It is the only place near the CAS-  
“ PIAN that produces saffron, for which it is famous. They have also  
“ red wine here of a strong body and well-tasted, which the ARMENIANS  
“ make at SHAMAKIE. The country abounds in hares, deer, and anti-  
“ lopes ; the flesh of the last is delicious food. Round BAKU are several  
“ lofty and craggy mountains, on which are very strong watch-towers ;  
“ these seem to have been intended to give alarm, in time of war, of the  
“ approach of the TURKS, or highland TARTARS ; to the depredations of  
“ both which this city has been often exposed.”

## C H A P. LVII.

*A succinct account of the antient PERSIAN religion, with several minute particulars relating to the everlasting fire<sup>a</sup> near BAKU, and the extraordinary effects of this phenomenon, to which the INDIANS pay divine honours; also of the sect called MOUM SEUNDURAIN.*

I Must beg leave to interrupt the journal of the embassy at BAKU, where an object presents itself that reminds us of the antient religion of the PERSIANS. ZOROASTER, the founder of this religion, appeared about the year of the world 2860. This great philosopher was struck with the demonstrations of the perfection of that self-existent being, who is the author of all good. Being at a loss how to account for the introduction of evil into the world; he imagined there were two principles; one the cause of all good, which he represented by light; and the other the cause of all evil, which he figured to himself by darkness. He considered light as the most perfect symbol of true wisdom and intellectual endowment; and darkness the representative of things hurtful and destructive. From hence he was led to inculcate an abhorrence of all images, and to teach his followers to worship GOD only, under the form of fire; considering the brightness, activity, purity, and incorruptibility of that element, as bearing the most perfect resemblance to the nature and perfections of the good deity. For the same reason the PERSIANS shewed a particular veneration to the sun, which was founded on their belief, that it is the noblest creature of the visible world, and that the throne of the almighty is seated in it. This good principle which they acknowledged to be the omnipotent creator and preserver of all things, they called YEZAD, and also ORMUZD, which signify supreme. The evil principle they stiled AHARIMAN, i. e. the devil. Some have asserted that the antient PERSIANS held a coeternity of these two principles; but others, who seem better acquainted with the true tenets of this religion, agree that ORMUZD, according to the PERSIAN mythology, first subsisted

<sup>a</sup> As denominated by the INDIANS. The author of the journal of the embassy did not go to see this fire; but the concurrent testimony of many who did see it, puts the matter beyond doubt to me.

alone; that by him both the light and darkness were created; and that AHARIMAN was created, or rather arose from darkness. In the composition of this world good and evil being thus mixed together, they believed they would continue till the end of all things, when each should be separated and reduced to its own sphere.

The antient PERSIANS erected no temples, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the top of a hill; for they esteemed it injurious to the majesty of the GOD of heaven, to shut up in walls, him to whom all things are open; whom the world cannot contain; who fills immensity with his presence; and to whom the whole earth, with regard to man, should be esteemed as an house or temple.

Between the beginning of the reign of CYRUS the GREAT and the end of that of DARIUS the son of HYSTASPIS, being about 600 years after the first ZOZOASTER, whom I have mentioned, another philosopher of the same name arose. This last undertook to reform some articles in the antient religion: he taught that there is one supreme, independent and self-existent being. That under him there are two angels, the one of light, who is the author of all good; and the other of darkness, who is the author of all evil. That these two, by a mixture of light and darkness, made all things which are. That they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and where the angel of darkness, there evil predominates. That this struggle shall last till the end of the world, when there will be a day of judgment, in which all shall receive a just retribution according to their works: after which the angel of darkness and his followers shall be cast into a world of their own, where they shall suffer for their evil deeds in darkness, which to all eternity shall be separated from the light. But those who cherished and cultivated their spiritual nature, and obeyed the angel of light, shall go with him into a world, where, amidst everlasting brightness and triumphant glory, they shall receive the rewards due to their good deeds.

This last ZOROASTER, contrary to his great predecessor, caused temples to be built, in which the sacred fires were ordered to be constantly and carefully preserved.

These

These opinions, with a few alterations, are still maintained by some of the posterity of the antient INDIANS and PERSIANS, who are called GEBERS, or GAURS, and are very zealous in preserving the religion of their ancestors; particularly in regard to their veneration for the element of fire. What they commonly call the EVERLASTING FIRE, near BAKU, before which these people offer their supplications, is a phenomenon of a very extraordinary nature, in some measure peculiar to this country, and therefore deserving of a particular description.

This object of devotion to the GEBERS, lies about 10 ENGLISH miles north-east by east from the city of BAKU on dry rocky land. There are several antient temples built with stone, supposed to have been all dedicated to fire; most of them are arched vaults not above 10 to 15 feet high. Amongst others there is a little temple, in which the INDIANS now worship: near the altar about 3 feet high is a large hollow cane, from the end of which issues a blue flame, in colour and gentleness not unlike a lamp that burns with spirits, but seemingly more pure. These INDIANS affirm, that this flame has continued ever since the flood, and they believe it will last to the end of the world; that if it was resisted or suppressed in that place, it would rise in some other. Here are generally forty or fifty of these poor devotees, who come on a pilgrimage from their own country, and subsist upon wild sallary, and a kind of JERUSALEM artichokes, which are very good food, with other herbs and roots, found a little to the northward. Their business is to make expiation, not for their own sins only, but for those of others, and they continue the longer time, in proportion to the number of persons for whom they have engaged to pray. They mark their foreheads with saffron, and have a great veneration for a red cow. They wear very little cloathing, and those who are of the most distinguished piety, put one of their arms upon their head, or some other part of the body, in a fixed position, and keep it unalterably in that attitude.

A little way from the temple is a low clift of a rock, in which there is a horizontal gap, 2 feet from the ground, near 6 long, and about 3 feet broad, out of which issues a constant flame, of the colour and nature I have

already described : when the wind blows, it rises sometimes 8 feet high, but much lower in still weather : they do not perceive that the flame makes any impression on the rock. This also the INDIANS worship, and say it cannot be resisted but it will rise in some other place. About 20 yards on the back of this cliff is a wall cut in a rock 12 or 14 fathom deep, with exceeding good water.

The earth round this place, for above two miles, has this surprizing property, that by taking up two or three inches of the surface, and applying a live coal, the part which is so uncovered, immediately takes fire, almost before the coal touches the earth : the flame makes the soil hot, but does not consume it, nor affect what is near it with any degree of heat. Any quantity of this earth carried to another place does not produce this effect. Not long since eight horses were consumed by this fire, being under a roof where the surface of the ground was turned up, and by some accident took flame.

If a cane or tube, even of paper, be set about 2 inches in the ground; confined and close with earth below, and the top of it touched with a live coal, and blown upon, immediately a flame issues without hurting either the cane or paper, provided the edges be covered with clay; and this method they use for light in their houses, which have only the earth for the floor : three or four of these lighted canes will boil water in a pot; and thus they dress their victuals. The flame may be extinguished in the same manner, as that of spirits of wine. The ground is dry and stony, and the more stony any particular part is, the stronger and clearer is the flame; it smells sulphurous like naphtha, but not very offensive.

Lime is burnt to great perfection by means of this phenomenon; the flame communicating itself to any distance where the earth is uncovered to receive it. The stones must be laid on one another, and in three days the lime is compleated. Near this place brimstone is dug, and naphtha-springs are found.

The chief place for the black or dark-grey naphtha is the small island WETOV, now uninhabited, except at such times as they take naphtha from thence.

thence. The PERSIANS load it in bulk in their wretched vessels; so that sometimes the sea is covered with it for leagues together. When the weather is thick and hazy, the springs boil up the higher; and the naphtha often takes fire on the surface of the earth, and runs in a flame into the sea, in great quantities, to a distance almost incredible. In clear weather the springs do not boil up above 2 or 3 feet: in boiling over, this oily substance makes so strong a consistency as by degrees almost to close the mouth of the spring; sometimes it is quite closed, and forms hillocks that look as black as pitch; but the spring, which is resisted in one place, breaks out in another. Some of the springs, which have not been long open, form a mouth of 8 or 10 feet diameter.

The people carry the naphtha by troughs into pits or reservoirs, drawing it off from one to another, leaving in the first reservoir the water, or the heavier part with which it is mixed when it issues from the spring. It is unpleasant to the smell, and used mostly amongst the poorer sort of the PERSIANS, and other neighbouring people, as we use oil in lamps, or to boil their victuals; but it communicates a disagreeable taste. They find it burn best with a small mixture of ashes: as they find it in great abundance, every family is well supplied. They keep it, at a small distance from their houses, in earthen vessels under ground, to prevent any accident by fire, of which it is extremely susceptible.

There is also a white naphtha on the peninsula of APCHERON, of a much thinner consistency; but this is found only in small quantities. The RUSSIANS drink it both as a cordial and medicine, but it does not intoxicate: if taken internally it is said to be good for the stone, as also for disorders of the breast, and in venereal cases, and sore heads; to both the last the PERSIANS are very subject. Externally applied, it is of great use in scorbutic pains; gouts, cramps, &c. but it must be put to the part affected only; it penetrates instantaneously into the blood, and is apt, for a short time, to create great pain. It has also the property of spirits of wine to take out greasy spots in silks or woollens; but the remedy is worse than the disease; for it leaves an abominable odour. They say it is carried into INDIA as a great rarity, and being prepared as a japan, is the most beautiful and lasting of

any that has been yet found. Not far from hence are also springs of hot water, which boil up in the same manner as the naptha, and very thick, being impregnated with a blue clay, but it soon clarifies. Bathing in this warm water is found to strengthen, and procure a good appetite, especially if a small quantity is also drunk.

These medicinal qualities, and the purity of the air, have formerly caused it to be frequented by numbers of PERSIANS, and other people of the first quality from the remotest parts; here are yet the remains of many stately buildings, and a large burying-place; one mosque in particular, which is very large, and has a stone-cupola.

I have already mentioned, that SHAH ABAS drove the worshippers of fire out of PERSIA: they were then very numerous in several provinces, which have ever since been thinly inhabited. I heard of no towns or villages only GUEBARABAD near ISFAHAN, where there are any who openly profess that religion, except these miserable pilgrims of whom I have been speaking.

This religion, which has many marks of a spiritual disposition in its votaries, seems to be no object of detestation, compared with that mentioned by OLEARIUS and Mr. OTTER. They give an account of a certain people, of whom there are yet some at SAHRIE<sup>b</sup>, called MOUM-SEUNDURAIN, or extinguishers of candles. These are the reverse of the ROMAN matrons, who performed the secret rites of the BONA DEA, and with whom it was the highest prophanation to admit of the presence of a man. Both sexes are necessary to the rites of the MOUM-SEUNDURAIN: after eating and drinking liberally, in great silence and ceremony they put out the candles, and promiscuously changing their places, throw aside the distinction of rational creatures. Though MAHOMMEDANISM, beyond most other religions in the world, indulges its votaries in the idolatry of VENUS; yet this sect has been persecuted more than once, and is held in great detestation by the disciples of MAHOMMED. I must now proceed to the continuation of the Journal of the RUSSIAN embassy.

<sup>b</sup> Sometimes written *or* *SAHRIE*.

## C H A P. LVIII.

*Conclusion of the RUSSIAN embassy, with a description of the country from BAKU to SHAMAKIE, and from thence to RESHD.*

“ **H**AVING tarried under the walls of BAKU for 6 days, and re-  
 “ packed our baggage, the 12th of February 1747 we returned  
 “ back the same way for about 6 wersts, and then directing our course  
 “ southward, we encamped in a sandy valley, with a lake of salt water  
 “ to the east. The next day we passed several rivulets covered with nap-  
 “ tha, with which the adjacent hills to the west abound: we pitched  
 “ our tents near a caravanferai on the sea-side. The 14th we marched  
 “ westerly at the foot of a barren hill, and crossed a stately stone-bridge  
 “ of one arch, but there was no water under it. We observed a great  
 “ quantity of sea-glafs<sup>a</sup> of a very choice quality. The western prospect  
 “ was now continually bounded by lofty mountains: in one of the smallest  
 “ we were told, that, some years since, there was a volcano; but at pre-  
 “ sent no smoke issued from it. To the north of us was a mountain,  
 “ which sparkled like diamonds, arising from the sea-glafs and christsals,  
 “ with which it abounds. We now directed our course north-west, the  
 “ mountains intercepting our passage till we came to NAVAHY, the inhabi-  
 “ bitants of which appeared to be in extreme poverty, and were encamp-  
 “ ed about a mile to the south. We perceived several beautiful women,  
 “ said to be the wives of the governor; as soon as they saw us, they hid  
 “ their faces, and fled into an adjacent cavern. Our cavalry turned  
 “ south-east over a very high mountain, where it was with some difficulty  
 “ we could lead our horses; but our carriages went round the north-east  
 “ end of the mountain. Having travelled about 80 wersts from BA-  
 “ KU, we encamped at the foot of a mountain on the banks of a lake of  
 “ fresh water, where the PERSIANS were met by several of their women,  
 “ whom they had left at SALYAN, and other places on the banks of the  
 “ KURA.

<sup>a</sup> Commonly called isinglass, of which lanterns are made.

"The 16th, we travelled through a sandy and uncultivated country, with morasses to the west, and lofty mountains to the east of us. Violent rains having fallen on a clay-ground, the next day our camels, horses, and mules were extremely fatigued, inasmuch that we could not travel above 15 wersts: we encamped on the side of a very large lake. The weather clearing up, we found ourselves surrounded with mountains, whose tops are ever covered with snow. These were inhabited by a TARTAR prince called SHEMACE<sup>b</sup>, who, it is said, cannot bring above 5000 men into the field; and yet neither NADIR, nor his greater predecessor ABAS, could ever reduce these people to subjection. The former, though a wise prince, disdaining that so mean a competitor should reign within his dominions, determined to reduce their chief; and, contrary to advice, as well as to the experience of past ages, marched 20,000 men into these cold and inhospitable mountains, where it is said he lost more than half of them. It is morally impossible to bring artillery into this country; and if it was practicable, the TARTARS defend themselves with a number of forts, which, from their situation, are impregnable. As their valleys are fertile, and produce abundance of grain, they are never necessitated to expose their country to slavery, by their commerce with the PERSIANS, or any other people. Their love of liberty is not eradicated, and as they are in the highest degree jealous of it, they are continual on the watch to guard their passes, and to keep a store of arms and provision.

"The 18th we encamped on the south-east side of SHAMAKIE, between the city and a branch of the river BELAJA, the banks of which are steep. The waters which fall from the mountains from the north-west are troubled. The SHAMAKIE mentioned by historians, which is said to have contained 12,000 families, and many public and superb edifices, was certainly very different from this which NADIR SHAH removed from the other side of the mountains, in hopes of keeping the inhabitants in subjection. This city however appeared more rich and populous than both DERBEND and BAKU; but, to the great amazement

<sup>b</sup> The general name of SHEMKALL is given to these chiefs.

“ of the embassador and his people, the PERSIAN army which convoyed  
 “ us, exercised their cruelties in so arbitrary a manner, that, in three days  
 “ time, the shops of the ARMENIANS, GEORGIANS, INDIANS, and TAR-  
 “ TARS, as well as of the PERSIAN citizens were either locked up, or  
 “ plundered, though we could not discover any other reason for it, than  
 “ that of the insolence, inhumanity, and rapaciousness of the soldiers.

“ This city is a regular square of near three miles in circumference, de-  
 “ fenced by a ditch and a wall of earth, with a gate to the north, and an-  
 “ other to the south. It has three paved streets in the same direction, inter-  
 “ sected by narrow lanes, with a square in the centre, which serves as a  
 “ market-place, where we saw a few pieces of cannon. They have good  
 “ gardens, and their vineyards produce wine, as already mentioned. Be-  
 “ tween the city and the hills is a small town, chiefly inhabited by AR-  
 “ MENIANS.

“ We might have made our tract from BAKU much shorter, without  
 “ returning back so far northward, but no provision had been collected in  
 “ that rout; and as to coming directly from DERBEND to SHAMAKIE,  
 “ the highland TARTARS to the southward of that city towards the  
 “ KURA, though they acknowledge subjection to the PERSIANS, subsist  
 “ too much by plunder, to be trusted.

“ February the 28th, having staid here ten days, as well to rest  
 “ selves, as for other reasons, we directed our course southwards over  
 “ the plain for 15 wersts. March the 1st, Our way lay through  
 “ the plain, where we pitched our tents on the north banks of  
 “ the PERSIANS, who yet remained with us, went over  
 “ In this place were such a number of wild goats and  
 “ killed some almost at every shot. The next day  
 “ rafs; the road being very bad we were obliged  
 “ passable.

“ The 3d, Early in the morning we march-  
 “ on the north side of the famous river  
 “ half a mile to the westward of wh-

“ their streams, and run into the CASPIAN sea. A little to the eastward  
 “ is a castle in ruins, though it was built so lately as the time of NADIR  
 “ SHAH. There is another on the south side of the river; here is a circu-  
 “ lar pyramid of near 50 feet high; in which are niches filled with 282  
 “ human heads, of the late PERSIAN and TARTAR chiefs of the SHAMA-  
 “ KIE rebellion, who were all beheaded in one morning. These TAR-  
 “ TARS had not acknowledged subjection to PERSIA, and yet they were  
 “ treated as rebels.

“ The 4th, we passed the KURA<sup>e</sup> on a very mean bridge of boats held  
 “ together by an iron chain of about 500 feet long: This river has high  
 “ sandy banks: directing our course south-west, we encamped on the  
 “ banks of the ARAS. Here we found several small villages, almost the  
 “ only ones inhabited which we had seen since we left BAKU; and these,  
 “ in three days time, were treated in such a manner by our PERSIAN CON-  
 “ voy, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to leave their houses,  
 “ their wives and children to the mercy of these spoilers.

“ The ARAS runs into the wide and extended plains of MOGHAN<sup>f</sup>, which  
 “ reach near 180 miles from north to south, and 60 from east to west; they  
 “ are bounded on the north by the CAUCASUS, and the south by the TAU-  
 “ RUS<sup>g</sup>, having a hilly country to the west, and the sea to the east. These  
 “ were formerly inhabited by shepherds, who lived in tents, and were  
 “ herds and flocks; they professed the religion of the MAGI, and lived  
 “ a simple and innocent lives. This was also the great nursery of PER-  
 “ SIANS, and where the sovereigns of this country bred those beau-  
 “ tiful horses which the PERSIANS were distinguished. These plains  
 “ are full of different species: in the hot months of the  
 “ summer the inhabitants are wont to retire with their flocks into the  
 “ mountains, where they have plenty of wild swine, deer, and antilopes, with

<sup>e</sup> MOGAN, and CHULI MOGHAM.

<sup>f</sup> Conceivable to some readers, if I had called the river KURA by its  
 “ ancient names; but as all modern maps adopt the modern names, I  
 “ have done so, especially as I have done the same with regard to other

<sup>g</sup> sometimes used synonymously; but what the proper

<sup>h</sup> various

“ various kind of fowl, which we diverted ourselves in shooting. NADIR  
 “ treated the inhabitants with great severity; either dispersing, destroying,  
 “ or sending them to KHORASAN.

“ The 15th, A report prevailed in our camp, that the LESGEEs, between  
 “ DERBEND and BAKU, had made inroads into the low countries, and defeat-  
 “ ed the PERSIAN forces; also that they had seduced the inhabitants of SHA-  
 “ MAKIE to join them. Whatever grounds there were for this alarm, the  
 “ embassador decamped with some precipitation. We marched 20 wersts  
 “ over hard smooth ground, and encamped on the banks of a standing wa-  
 “ ter which communicated with the KURA. We should have made our  
 “ march longer, but that we found great scarcity of cattle for our carriages.

“ The 16th, We marched south-east 22 wersts through these deserted  
 “ plains, which now were extremely delightful, abounding in grass and  
 “ flowers, with great plenty of physical herbs: they are also refreshed by  
 “ several small rivers which run into the CASPIAN sea. We encamp-  
 “ ed on the banks of a lake of fresh water: the day following  
 “ we passed by six remarkable round hills, and encamped on the foot of  
 “ another, 20 wersts from our last stage. The 18th, we directed our course  
 “ south-west, where a ridge of high mountains, covered with snow, pre-  
 “ sented themselves to our view; our road lying over a rising ground  
 “ decked with clover, and several kinds of herbs. The banks of  
 “ ILCHAY are high and sandy; the stream, though somewhat  
 “ clear; it abounds in fish of the size of a common trout, of a  
 “ with small excrescences on their heads like horns. We encamp-  
 “ on the south side of the river, near a small inhabited village  
 “ directed our course due south through a marshy ground  
 “ reeds and brambles, passing by several habitations  
 “ gardens abounding in fruit-trees; such as almonds  
 “ and cherries: these being now in their blossom  
 “ though this day's journey was very fatiguing.

“ The 19th, We travelled through many  
 “ many streams, over which we were

“ camped on the river KEZILAGACH. The weather was now serene, and  
 “ the sun warm, though the nights were very cold. The next day the  
 “ scene was much the same as on the 18th, and gave us much plea-  
 “ sure. As we proceeded northward, the spring seemed to make great ad-  
 “ vances every day. In travelling, the novelty of places also, when the heart  
 “ is at ease, exhilarates the spirits, as it were, by a more peculiar benignity  
 “ of providence.

“ The 23d, The great difficulty we found in procuring the cattle,  
 “ which were necessary for the ambassador's use, obliged us to tarry till  
 “ this day: we then marched through marshy grounds and lofty woods,  
 “ where also grow many wild fruit-trees. From thence our road was on  
 “ a cause-way, made by SHAH ABAS the GREAT, as well for the facility  
 “ of marching an army, as to support the communication and trade of  
 “ these parts. Having marched 20 wersts we encamped on the north  
 “ banks of the river LANKAR.

“ The 24th, Our march lay on the sea-shore, which is sandy. The  
 “ country to the westward, under the mountains of GHILAN, is so thick  
 “ of wood, and marshy, as hardly to be passable at this season of the year.  
 “ Vines, pomgranates, and orange-trees are also in great abundance: we  
 “ camped on the side of a lake.

“ 25th, Our march on the sea shore was very laborious, on account of  
 “ sands: we forded the river ASTARA, situated in the province of  
 “ me, whose governor is independent of that of GHILAN or SHIR-  
 “ province is rich in grain, fruits, and silk-worms; but the  
 “ sea. On the hills to the westward are the remains of

“ destroyed by the RUSSIANS; here are several small villages  
 “ the houses in a ruinous condition; the inhabitants  
 “ mountains having frequently committed hostilities

“ 27th, our road lying partly on the sea-shore,  
 “ and marshy lands, we passed many rivers and  
 “ pomgranates, which we found in great  
 “ delicious in flavor. The 31st, the roads

“ days marches very short. April  
 “ the

“ the 1st, our course lay on a cause-way, with deep ditches on both sides,  
 “ meeting with a great number of small rivers, in which this country ab-  
 “ bounds; at length we pitched our tents on the banks of the LESAR,  
 “ near which there is a large plain.

“ The 2d, This day exhibited a scene of desolation in the number of ruined  
 “ villages, through which we passed, though the soil appeared to be extremely  
 “ fruitful. This country also abounds in timber intermixed with fruit-trees,  
 “ and vines, whose grapes are said to produce good wine. We passed no less than  
 “ 16 small rivers, and encamped near the town of KESKAR. Here we found  
 “ a great body of OUSBEG TARTARS belonging to the PERSIAN army,  
 “ who had permission to live at discretion, till the inhabitants should pay  
 “ a heavy contribution, which the SHAH had imposed on them. Some of  
 “ these TARTARS gave proof of great virtue and moderation; whilst others  
 “ violated matrons and virgins with a savage licentiousness, often killing  
 “ not only the men who opposed them, but the women also. This town,  
 “ and the district of the same name, is under the jurisdiction of the go-  
 “ vernor of GHILAN, whose residence is at RESHD. Not long since this  
 “ place was remarkable for the quantity of raw silk it produced, and  
 “ for many silk fabrics; but the oppression of NADIR’s government seem-  
 “ ed to have involved every thing in one common ruin. Near this place  
 “ we saw the ruins of a fort which the RUSSIANS had formerly built to  
 “ prevent the incursions of the neighbouring mountaineers.

“ The 3d, As the ambassador now esteemed himself secure, with re-  
 “ spect to the rebellion towards the KURA, and near the end of his jour-  
 “ ney to GHILAN, he halted. The 4th, we marched 20 wersts, through  
 “ woods and gardens; and crossing several rivulets over stone  
 “ encamped on the HALKALAJAN, whose banks are very

“ The 5th, the country still continued pleasant; with  
 “ rivers and a lake, and the day following the cam-  
 “ p was tranced into RESHD.”

# A P P E N D I X.

## C H A P. LIX.

*A coasting pilot, containing a particular description of the coasts and ports of the CASPIAN sea<sup>a</sup>.*

I Shall conclude this account of PERSIA with the following description of the coasts and ports of the CASPIAN sea, extracted from captain WOODROOFE's coasting pilot. The subject has some connexion with what has been said in the 22d, 23d, and 24th chapters of this volume; and though it may be barren of pleasure to those who delight neither in commerce, geography, nor navigation; yet as this sea has merited the attention of historians; and the BRITISH nation never had any accurate information concerning it, we may presume that the following account of its navigation will not be ungrateful to some readers. The original papers of captain WOODROOFE, from whence this description is extracted, are more verbose, but do not contain any thing material that I have omitted.

“ From ASTRACHAN to YERKIE is 60 ENGLISH miles: the channel is for the most part pretty good, except just below IWAN CHUK, where, at low water, there is only 8 feet at most. Ships formerly entered and cleared out at YERKIE; but that place being now almost overflowed, is left in ruins, and the office removed to SADLISTOVA, about 2 leagues to the northward.

“ YERKIE is the island CARAZA, where all goods imported are landed, and vessels built for their reception in quarantain; and ships lay off for the sea. There is generally  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet water on YERKIE bar, but upon extra-ordinary it rises to 9 or 10 feet. In order to sail over YERKIE bar, and down the river, after you get to the lower part of the river below YERKIE, do, steer out a little westerly; or if the weather be clear, and the wind fair, keep the land open; then sailing over  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet, do stand off for near half a mile, and it deepens to 2 and do anchor in  $2\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, run it about two cables

“ enough to the west towards a little red cliff on the island TOOLEENA, where there  
 “ is 3 fathoms water, and a good holding ground with black mud and sand.

“ All the coast is very low and marshy, and the air over it being generally hazy,  
 “ it is difficult to distinguish places. From YERKIE all vessels take their de-  
 “ parture, and this place they also make when homeward bound.

“ GOUFNA-SEROTKA lies about 9 leagues to the southward of YERKIE, and near  
 “ it is generally two fathoms water; but on the middle sand, which lies off CHE-  
 “ TIRIE-BOGORIE from south south-east to south south-east half south, at the dis-  
 “ tance of near 8 leagues is only 8 feet water. It must be remarked, that as low  
 “ as CHETIRIE-BOGORIE there is generally fresh water, except after a gale of south-  
 “ erly wind. On leaving the bank of GOUFNA-SEROTKA, the sea deepens so as  
 “ you cannot find a bottom with any line.

“ In this sea there are no tides; but hard gales of wind either from the north  
 “ or south, raise the water 3 or 4 feet, and sometimes more, and when these  
 “ gales cease, the water returns to its ordinary depth, with a prodigious current,  
 “ and confused sea. It must also be observed that it is the same on the PERSIAN  
 “ coast as on the RUSSIAN; but rendered stronger and more irregular on the latter,  
 “ by the streams which issue from the VOLGA, IAMBIA, and YAEIK. This occasions  
 “ the loss of many vessels; for the force of these currents is apt to deceive. Captain  
 “ WOODROOFE, after his first voyage, instead of heaving the logg, made use of deep  
 “ sea-lines, and the heaviest lead; for the lead remaining steady, discovered his  
 “ course more exactly. It is also to be noted, that, on the north-coast, the found-  
 “ ings begin before you enter much into these contrary currents, which are gene-  
 “ rally occasioned by the wind coming from the opposite points of north or south.  
 “ The RUSSIANS lose many vessels on the shoals of the north coast for want of  
 “ attention and skill. These vessels when laden, generally draw 9 or 10 feet  
 “ water; and as they run into 11 or 12 feet before a south or south-east  
 “ which frequently raise a tumbling sea, it must necessarily endanger them.  
 “ This might be easily prevented by keeping to the eastward to  
 “ GANSKOI, or the island of KURALIE, in all which are very safe.

“ As the land both at CHITCHEENA and KURALIE is  
 “ spring and fall are generally attended with great fogs;  
 “ the navigator must be on his guard, particularly on the west  
 “ his lead going; and when he comes into 35 or 40  
 “ edge into 30 fathoms: as he approaches CHIT

“ with a light grey sand. Then halling out north north-east, or north-east by  
 “ north, he will pass over a clean white sand, which runs out south east from  
 “ CHITCHEENA into 12 and 15 fathoms water. The nearer he approaches to  
 “ TOOLEENA the ground is blacker, but about 5 leagues to the eastward is a clean  
 “ grey sand without mud.

“ The distance between CHITCHEENA and TOOLEENA is about 9 leagues, 8 of  
 “ which are a good channel: but it must be particularly remarked that too-  
 “ LEENA is rather a shoal than an island; for when the water is high, nothing but  
 “ reeds appears upon it, and in turning to windward it is not advisable to stand  
 “ nearer either to it or CHITCHEENA than in 3 fathoms water. If necessity obliges to  
 “ run between the point of land and CHITCHEENA, keep pretty close the point, be-  
 “ cause on the other side there is a shoal which runs a great way, and a little spot  
 “ that is quite dry.

“ At DERBEND there was formerly a landing-place for goods, but it is now  
 “ under water. This is the worst port, if it may be called such, in the whole  
 “ CASPIAN sea, not only with regard to the loading and unloading of boats on the  
 “ shore, but from the stony foul ground in the road.

“ On the west coast you ought to keep the lead as soon as you make DERBEND.  
 “ When on shore you will find hard stony ground intermixed with cockle and  
 “ muscle shells in about 30 or 40 fathoms.

“ From May to September there are seldom any hard gales of wind, and there-  
 “ fore ships in DERBEND road bringing the lower end of the south wall to bear  
 “ due west, may lie in 7 fathom water, which is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an ENGLISH mile from  
 “ the shore. Here is a clean spot of sandy ground for at least 2 cables length  
 “ every way; but in winter it is not advisable to come nearer than  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile in 11  
 “ fms, and to lie as near the middle of the two walls as possible, where the  
 “ is not altogether so bad: but there are many loose stones very hurtful  
 “ so that care must be taken not to lay too slack moored, that the va-  
 “ which blow on this coast, and the counter currents which some-  
 “ times a day, may not do mischief. It is always found the  
 “ at single anchor, and to have your sails furled with rope  
 “ ready on any emergency. It is never observed, that the  
 “ be  $2\frac{1}{2}$  points from the shore.

phrase for throwing.

The

“ The next port is NIEZADAD, by others called NIEZAWOY, where there is  
 “ clean holding ground of ouze and sand. Between this and SPITZBERMACK is a  
 “ remarkable rocky hill near the sea-side. The RUSSIAN charts mention two rocks  
 “ called the DWA BRATIE<sup>b</sup>; but captain WOODROOFE says, he traced that place  
 “ very often without finding them.

“ The RUSSIANS and PERSIANS often pass through the streights of APSHERON  
 “ between SWETOI and the main; this is very surprizing as the passage is dange-  
 “ rous, and they have 30 leagues of good sea-room between ZELOI and the  
 “ eastern main. If the navigator is under a necessity of going between SWETOI and  
 “ the western main, there is a good channel through it with  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms clay  
 “ ground for near half a mile wide: but on both sides are many rocks, so that  
 “ there is no venturing except by day-light, and taking proper care to keep the  
 “ lead. On the south side of ZELOI there is good anchoring-ground, and pro-  
 “ tection from the northerly winds; care however must be taken of a shoal  
 “ that runs east south-east from this island, which rises pretty bold, and has  
 “ white cliffs on the south side; in clear weather they may be seen at the distance  
 “ five or six leagues.

“ Being bound from the northward to BAKU, it is necessary to give the great  
 “ SHAH’S bank a good birth<sup>c</sup>; then hall in about west north-west for the en-  
 “ trance of the bay, which lies between the island NARGIN and a little fishing-  
 “ town: on a bluff point on the western main, is a clear channel of seven fathoms  
 “ near a league over. Vessels sometimes go to the eastward of NARGIN; but the  
 “ rock of DAVERISH, as well as several shoals which were formerly islands, toge-  
 “ ther with the small depth of three fathoms, render that channel dangerous. On  
 “ the east side of the bay of BAKU they dig salt and brimstone, and coasting  
 “ vessels receive their loadings. In the mole of BAKU is two fathoms water. The  
 “ may be denominated the best, if not the only true port in the CASPIAN sea.

“ The island BOULLAH lies to the south-west of BAKU; to the east  
 “ there is about 10 fathoms water; but to the west is a bank of fa-  
 “ western main, which is almost dry.

“ SWINOY is a bold island about four leagues from the  
 “ there are two rocks near the north end of it. The shoal  
 “ SHAH’S bank, is about 6 miles long, and 2 broad, and  
 “ The soundings round it are very gradual, and as yet

<sup>b</sup> As expressed in the sea-chart.

<sup>c</sup> Sea-term for lee.

to room in a ship, for which this term is also adopted.

“ changes from loose mud to sand. The island KURA, though low, is very steep  
 “ on all sides. About 3 leagues south-east by south from this island is a rock  
 “ just at the water’s edge, which, at a distance, resembles two boats. Neither the  
 “ RUSSIANS nor the PERSIANS in my time were acquainted with them; and it is  
 “ more than probable that many vessels, in their passage from the river KURA to  
 “ BAKU, have been lost upon this spot, so as never to have been more heard of.  
 “ This river has at the entrance two fathoms water, and is a general rendezvous  
 “ for all PERSIAN vessels going to, or returning from BAKU. Coming in with  
 “ the coast, navigators should have a particular care to avoid a bank of mud  
 “ about 5 leagues to the westward of ENZELLE, where it is only 11 feet water.  
 “ The proper place for anchoring in ENZELLE road, is to bring the fore-  
 “ houses on the west side of the bar to bear south south-west, and to run into  
 “ 10 or 12 fathoms water. Captain WOODROOFE frequently observed, that in  
 “ coming from the northward with a hard gale of wind at north, on his arrival  
 “ on this coast, it has veered to the north-west, the south-east, or, as generally  
 “ happens, to the west; so that when the wind is north at sea, the vessels in this  
 “ road, having it in the points just mentioned, lie in the trough of the sea, and  
 “ ride in a very disagreeable, as well as insecure manner.

“ The river SERIETROOD having seldom above 3 feet water at its entrance, is of  
 “ no use to ships, though there is a very good depth within the bar. As a rapid  
 “ stream runs from this river into the sea with a great eddy, it is not proper to  
 “ hold nearer than 7 fathoms water, though there is 5 or 6 fathoms within three  
 “ quarters of a mile from the shore. If you get into this eddy with little or no wind,  
 “ there is great danger of being driven ashore to the southward, and many a PERSI-  
 “ AN vessel has been lost in calm weather. About 4 miles up the SERIETROOD a  
 “ small channel runs into the lake of ENZELLE, and serves as a passage for boats;  
 “ at very low water they are obliged to haul them over a shoal for about 40  
 “ fathoms. Were it not for this inconvenience, there would be communication between  
 “ AZAR and RUBIZAR for loaded boats without the necessity of going  
 “ to the southward of SERIETROOD there is a cove, the entrance of which  
 “ is 5 fathoms length with two fathoms water; and as there is the same depth  
 “ 5 fathoms of ships might lie land locked with the utmost security.

“ LANGAROOD cove, which is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from east to  
 “ west from north to south. As it has 10 or 11 feet water, it  
 “ is the safest in rank, were it not that the entrance is so nar-  
 “ row, before it is attempted. LANGAROOD road is how-  
 “ ever the best place to anchor, is to bring the point on the  
 “ south

“ south side of the bar to bear south-west by west, and the peak of LAHIJAN hill  
 “ west south-west running into 7 fathoms water, where there is clean sandy  
 “ ground  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile from the shore. It must be observed there is a bank of sand  
 “ which extends itself from SEFIETROOD about 3 leagues to the bottom of this  
 “ bay. On the edge of this bank about 20 fathoms there is soft mud. The  
 “ river which runs up to the town of LANGAROOD, is about a cable’s length to the  
 “ westward of the south of the bar, and is almost concealed with reeds. Its course  
 “ is north-east. There is a shoal of 7 feet, but it afterwards deepens to two fa-  
 “ thoms.

“ ALEMMAROOD, or, as it is sometimes called, ODEASKY, is a small village to  
 “ the east, with a river navigable for boats drawing 4 feet water. By means of  
 “ the lakes, it communicates with MESCHEDIZAR: off which you may anchor in 9  
 “ fathoms water in clean ground.

“ The next place is FARABAD, on the east side of the bank of a little river.  
 “ Off this town one may anchor in 10 fathoms water in good ground; however  
 “ the best of these roads on the south coast are but disagreeable, as there is generally  
 “ a swell from the sea. The wind is generally westerly; when it comes from the  
 “ east point, it is very moderate, and attended with pleasant weather even in the  
 “ midst of winter. The navigation of the south-east part of the CASPIAN from  
 “ FARABAD to ASTRABAD bay is very safe and easy, the soundings regular, and  
 “ the ground clean. The palace of ASHEREFF, which is built with stone, is a  
 “ good land-mark, and may be seen a great way at sea.

“ Coming either from the north or west, the surest way to sail over ASTRABAD  
 “ bar into the bay, is to bring the lower point of land on the west side to bear  
 “ south-west at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile distance. In calm weather it just appears above the wa-  
 “ ter, and when there is any sea, the breakers are visible: steering in south south-  
 “ east southerly till that spit of sand bears due west, then steering south and south  
 “ by west, you may anchor about a mile to the westward of the entrance of the  
 “ river KORGAN; but in going into KANDAGASAR road, it is necessary to observe  
 “ a spit of sand which runs about half a mile from the mouth of that river. The  
 “ bar has 11 to 12 feet water, with hard sand for about a mile, then deepens to  
 “  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 fathoms, with a bottom of soft clay. If the weather prevents the  
 “ sight either of the spit of sand, or breakers on the west side of the bar, run with-  
 “ in a mile of the east main, which is easy to be seen, steering in south and south  
 “ by west: there is the same depth all over the bay, which is from two to four  
 “ fathoms.

“ fathoms water, in the spring and fall of the year. There is a small low island  
 “ covered with reeds, which appears to the north-east of ASTRABAD bar, very  
 “ near the east main; there is not above five feet water round it; but a league to  
 “ the westward is two fathoms.

“ From the bar of ASTRABAD to the south end of the island OGRUJINSKOI, or,  
 “ as the PERSIANS call it, IDAK, is  $32\frac{1}{2}$  leagues, steering north-west by north half  
 “ north. The deepest water in that tract is from 7 to 10 fathoms, soft ground,  
 “ but 10 leagues to sea there is 35 fathoms water, deepening gradually. The  
 “ channel between the north end of IDAK and the west of DEVERISH is near a  
 “ mile and a half wide, with three or four fathoms water; the north end of  
 “ IDAK lies under water, and is terminated by an eminence, which appears as  
 “ an island. Between the east end of DEVERISH and NAPHTONIA there is  
 “ another channel, which is very narrow. You have good shelter between  
 “ NAPHTONIA and OGRUJINSKOI, either from the north-east or west, with the ad-  
 “ vantage of putting out to sea with any wind. The best water is close to the  
 “ island DARGAN, where there is clean ground; but the north side of it is stony.  
 “ DAGADAW is a little high island about two cables length from the north main,  
 “ and full two fathoms water round it; the anchorage is so secure, that the ship  
 “ might be moored to the island, and a stage built from her on shore. A little  
 “ way from this island there are two large rocks above water; three or four leagues  
 “ further you have but nine feet water, and at the foot of the mountain only  
 “ five. The points on the north side of the entrance of this lake consist of high  
 “ red cliffs which form a sand or gravel of the same colour washed from it, and  
 “ from thence it is called KRASNA-WODA<sup>a</sup>. Within that point the banks are all  
 “ high rugged rocks, the rest lying under water<sup>b</sup>.

“ Concerning the lake KARABOGASKOI, it must be observed, that all the east-  
 “ coast from KRASNA-WODA to cape KARAGANSKOI is a ragged shore and rocky  
 “ ground; in many places there are high rocks at a distance from the shore,  
 “ which appear as islands; but prudence forbids a near approach to them.

“ In the latitude of 43 there seems to be a large inlet behind some high rocks;  
 “ but we never had occasion to make a discovery of it. From 42 to 43 de-  
 “ grees there is a sand-bank 8 or 9 leagues broad, and 20 leagues in extent; on  
 “ it there is about 25 fathoms water, which always appears discoloured.

<sup>a</sup> Which in RUSSIAN signifies red water.

<sup>b</sup> A more particular description of BALKHAN is contained in chap. XXXIV,

“ Cape KARAGANSKOI, and the island KULALIE, are already mentioned : in the  
“ former there is good shelter from south and south-east winds ; and the latter has  
“ a very good harbour, where there is 10 or 11 feet water, with clean sandy  
“ ground. This island is barren and uninhabited ; but the harbour is the general  
“ rendezvous for all the RUSSIAN vessels, which load fish at the YAEIK for  
“ KISLAR and DERBEND. There are several small islands to the eastward of  
“ KULALIE ; but we never had any opportunity of surveying them.